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A. M. Friend  
Princeton  
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**STUDIA  
BIBLICA ET ECCLESIASTICA**

**ESSAYS**

**CHIEFLY**

**IN BIBLICAL AND PATRISTIC CRITICISM**

**BY**

**MEMBERS OF THE UNIVERSITY  
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I.

LIFE OF ST. NINO

[MARJORY WARDROP  
J. O. WARDROP]

VOL. V : PART I.

B



# LIFE OF ST. NINO.



## PREFACE.

THE text used for this translation is *Sakart'hvelos Samot'khke* (edited by Gobron (Mikhail) Sabinin, S. Pbg., 1882), the standard collection of Lives of Georgian Saints; passages have also been appended from Rufinus, Moses of Chorene, and a MS. entitled *Moktzevai Kart'hlisai* (i.e. the Conversion of Georgia).

Sabinin's text has the merit of giving a connected narrative, but its slipshod style and lack of punctuation frequently render it obscure and misleading.

**The New Variant.** The best text, as far as it goes, is that printed in *Akhali Varianti Tsm. Ninos Tzkhovrebisa, anumeore natsili Kart'hlis Moktzevisa* (edited by E. T'haqaishvili, Tiflis, 1891). Wherever this differs materially from Sabinin's text its words (marked A. V.) are inserted in the notes.

The existing MS. of this New Variant forms a part of the 'Shatberdi Collection,' a book of miscellaneous parchments which formerly belonged to the monastery of Shatberdi, on Chorokh Pass, in the district of Clarjet'hi, and appears to have been written in the ninth or tenth century. With it are bound up three Historical Chronicles and the short MS. called *Moktzevai Kart'hlisai*, all of which are now published. The most notable peculiarity of A. V. is that the narrators speak in the first person; there seems little doubt of its being the oldest existing MS., and it is evidently a



copy of a very much older (perhaps contemporary) original. Unfortunately it is incomplete. The order of the incidents differs from that in other versions, and some things are omitted altogether.

**Other versions.** Among other MSS. may be mentioned :

1. A copy of the Lives of the Georgian Saints, written by the Catholicos Arsen in the tenth century (preserved in the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences). Arsen tells us he used oral as well as written material.

2. The Shio Mghvime monastery's MS., written in 1733.

3. The Nat'hlistzemeli (Baptist) monastery's MS., 1713. These two last named are evidently taken from the same source, but the one is not copied from the other.

4. Queen Mariam's MS. (written 1636-1646) of Kart'hlis Tzkhovreba (the Georgian Chronicle), which was not among those edited by Vakhtang VI.

5. Kart'hlis Tzkhovreba, the great Georgian Chronicle, edited by King Vakhtang VI (early eighteenth century), but collected long before his time. The text and French translation published by M. F. Brosset, St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences.

**The MS. Conversion of Georgia.** The MS. Moktzevai Kart'hlisai (infra, pp. 61-64) gives the legend of St. Nino in a dry, brief manner, and carries the history down to the ninth century; but the oldest part does not seem to be later than the seventh century. It cannot be looked upon as the root from which other versions have sprung, but only as part of a compilation of annals from pre-existing material.

**Agreement of the Versions.** It will be found that the different versions, through about a thousand years, show no essential disagreement, and they are supported by the independent authority of Rufinus, whose work seems to have been first known in Georgia through Ephrem the Younger's translation of Theodoretus in the eleventh century. It is probably from Rufinus that the story of the healing of the youth (p. 31) is inserted; the use of the word *cilici*, and the

omission of the incident in A. V., seem to suggest such an origin.

**Chronology.** Various dates are given for the Conversion of Georgia: Vakhusht 317, Baronius 327, Brosset 328, Kart'hlis Tzkhovreba 338. The first and last of these are manifestly wrong. The year given in Moktzevai Kart'hlisai, 332, if we read 'birth' for 'ascension,' is apparently correct, and is confirmed by the *Chronique Arménienne* (i. e. a Georgian Chronicle which only exists in an Armenian translation of the twelfth century, published in French by Brosset in *Additions et éclaircissements*, Pgb. 1851). We may thus fix the following dates: Nino's arrival in Georgia 324, baptism of King Mirian 332, Nino's death 338.

**The Georgian Church Autocephalous.** It has been asserted, not without authority, that the first Bishop of Georgia was only called John (Ioane, Iovane) because he was 'the Baptist,' and that he was in reality that Eustatius who was patriarch of Antioch from 325 till 331, when he was expelled by heretics. In 1051 we find the clergy of Antioch claiming the patriarchate over Georgia, and about the same time Ephrem the Younger refers to Eustatius of Antioch as the first Georgian bishop. In any case it is certain that until the reign of Vakhtang Gorgaslan (end of fifth century) the Georgian Church was subject to Antioch; Vakhtang made it a national Church, and it was solemnly declared autocephalous by the Sixth General Council. Practically, it is now swallowed up in the Russian Church, and the tomb of St. Nino, in the monastery of Bodbe, has been surrounded by hideous modern buildings, and given into the care of Russian nuns ignorant of the language and history of the country.

**Miscellaneous remarks.** It is perhaps unnecessary to draw attention to the importance of Jews and women in the introduction of Christianity in Georgia, as in other places. The Jewish colonies (p. 27) seem to have been ancient, numerous, and prosperous; and the influence of the rabbi Abiat'har, who is represented as calling himself complacently

'the new Paul,' plays a large part in the story. Queen Nana reminds us of Helena in Byzantium, Clothilde in France, and other royal protectresses of Christianity.

The information given about the pre-existing faiths, the imported Persian gods Armaz and Zaden, the hostile Chaldean It'hrujan, the Book of Nimrod, and, more especially, Gatzi and Gaim, or Ga, the 'gods of the Georgian people,' is well worthy of attention. So too are such scraps of folklore as we find on pp. 23 and 45. From the linguistic point of view the fragments of 'Branjian' and old Persian on pp. 20 and 21 may be recommended to the notice of philologists. A mere translation such as is here presented leaves the field open to students fitted to explain the numerous obscure points in the legend.

TEXT.

*The Conversion of King Mirian, and of all Georgia  
with him, by our holy and blessed Mother the  
Apostle Nino.*

Her festival is held on the fourteenth of January.

LET us tell the story of our holy and blessed Mother, the enlightener of all Georgia, the apostle Nino, as she herself, at the time of her death, related it to the believer Salome of Ujarma, daughter-in-law of King Mirian, who wrote it down.

Now in those days when Saint George the Cappadocian<sup>1</sup> bore witness for Christ, there was in a city of Cappadocia a certain ruler, pleasing unto God, called Zabulon, who set out for Rome to serve before King Maximian<sup>2</sup> and to carry gifts to him. In those same days there was in Colastra<sup>3</sup> a man who had two children : a son named Iobenal and a daughter, Sosana ; and he and his wife died, leaving the brother and sister orphans. The children arose and set out for the holy city Jerusalem, trusting in the hope of all Christians, the holy Resurrection. There they tarried ; Sosana's brother, Iobenal, obtained the office of steward<sup>4</sup>, while she served the Niamphori Sarra<sup>5</sup> of Bethlehem.

Now the Cappadocian youth Zabulon, whom we have

<sup>1</sup> We learn from an old chronicle that St. Nino was the archmartyr St. George's cousin.

<sup>2</sup> A.V. omits the name Maximian.

<sup>3</sup> A.V. 'Colasta.'

<sup>4</sup> Devtalar. In Queen Mariam's MS. devkhalari, but in all others devtalar.

<sup>5</sup> A.V. 'miaphori Sara.'

already mentioned, arrived before the king when the Branji<sup>1</sup> had revolted against the Romans on the field of Patalani<sup>2</sup>. The Lord gave power invincible to Zabulon, who went forth with countless hosts against the Branji and put them to flight, capturing their king and all his chiefs. Then he led them before the king (of the Romans) who decreed that they should all be put to death. The Branji began to weep, and entreated Zabulon, saying: 'First let us be partakers in your religion, and let us be led into the temple of your God; then may we meet death, for we have been taken captive by thee. Do thus unto us, and thou shalt be guiltless of our blood, O hero!' Now when Zabulon heard this, he went hastily and secretly to the patriarch<sup>3</sup>, and told him what they had said. They were baptized by Zabulon; they were led into the temple of God, where they partook of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and the glory of the holy apostles was declared unto them.

On the morning when they were to meet their doom, the Branji rose very early, and, being clothed in the garments of death, were led away unto the place of execution, praying and praising God for His baptism and sacrament which they had received, saying: 'In this our death we are immortal, for God has esteemed us worthy to see His glory, and to receive the inexhaustible provision for the journey, to wit, the body and blood of the immortal God Christ, who is higher than all heights and deeper than all abysses and depths, who is blessed through eternity. But, alas for our kinsfolk, born in bitterness, inheritors of darkness!' They then handed themselves over to the executioner. Now when Zabulon saw this, he was much moved, and wept bitterly, for they were as sheep led to the slaughter, and for their children they mourned grievously, as for lambs. Seized with pity for them all, Zabulon went in to the king and entreated

<sup>1</sup> Branji = Frangi (Franks). Cp. Lebeau, *Hist. du Bas-Empire*, i. 42-3.

<sup>2</sup> A.V. 'Pikhalani.' In other variants Pitalani.

<sup>3</sup> A.V. 'he told *the king* and the patriarch.'

him that he would pardon them. The king granted them their liberty.

The Branji begged Zabulon to go with them to their land and teach the gospel of Christ, baptizing with water all the people. He hearkened to their prayer, and asked the patriarch for a priest. Then he obtained leave from the king, and they went away joyfully. When they were within a day's journey of the land of the Branji, the news that their king was coming in safety, with all his chiefs, travelled before them, and there came forth to meet them ten *erist'havs*<sup>1</sup>: Khozamai, Khozaba, Zakai and Khenebagi, Timgaragi Dazakai<sup>2</sup>, Gazai, Zargai, Zarda, Zamrai and T'hmonigoni<sup>3</sup>, and all the kingdom with them, and they met at a great deep river<sup>4</sup>. The king divided the people, and placed half of them on each side of the river, and the priest blessed the water. Then all the people went down into the river and were washed, and rose together, and the priest<sup>5</sup> laid his hands upon them all. Ten days tarried they there by the river, and they pitched tents. The priest offered up the bloodless sacrifice, and the people partook of the sacrament of Christ. Priests instructed them in all the doctrines of Christianity. When Zabulon had said farewell he left them in peace, and went away with great gifts to Rome.

Baptism  
of the  
Branji.

He resolved to go to Jerusalem, and when he arrived there he divided his gains among the poor, according to the commandment of God. He saw the steward Iobenal, who had

Zabulon  
visits  
Jerusalem

<sup>1</sup> *eris-t'havi* (lit. head of the people) is a governor of a province.

<sup>2</sup> Thus in Sabinin, but it may be *da* (and) Zakai, as in A.V.

<sup>3</sup> In A.V. the names are given as follows: Kholamai, Khozabai Khladchai, Khesheshagi, Timgaragi, Zakai, Gzai Zargai, Zardai, Zarmai and T'hmonigoni of royal race. There are thus eleven names in all, but it is difficult to decide which of them is a double name. Queen Mariam's MS. gets over the difficulty by omitting Zarmai. The MS. in the church of St. John the Baptist (Nat'hlis mtzemeli monastery, in Karayaz Steppe) agrees with A.V. The list in Kart'hlis Tzkhovreba is: Khozamoi, Khozai, Gaakhlajai (var. Gardajai), Khonemagai, Khingiragai (var. Khinidchragai), Zajai, Zagai, Zardai, Zamrai, T'hmoni.

<sup>4</sup> Queen Mariam's MS. and the Nat'hlis mtzemeli MS. have not *ghrmasa* (deep); the former reads *ghadmarsa*, the latter *ghdamarasa* (? geographical names, names for the river).

<sup>5</sup> A.V. 'Zabulon.'

and  
marries  
Sosana.

Birth of  
Nino.

become patriarch, and Zabulon and the patriarch became great friends. Then Sara Niamphori said to the patriarch: 'Since this Zabulon is father and baptizer of the Branji, a man full of wisdom and constant in the service of God, give him thy sister Sosana to wife.' The advice of Sara seemed good unto the holy patriarch <sup>1</sup>.

St. Nino <sup>2</sup>, the enlightener of Georgia, was born of them. She was their only child, and her mother brought her up in the service of the poor <sup>3</sup>. When Nino was twelve years old, her parents sold all they had, and went away to Jerusalem. On reaching the holy city, Zabulon, having been blessed by the patriarch, left his wife. He clasped his daughter St. Nino to his breast, wetting her face with the torrent of tears which flowed from his eyes, and said: 'My only daughter! I leave thee an orphan, and confide thee to thy Father who is in heaven, the God of all beings, for He is the Father of orphans, the Judge of the widow. Fear not, my child, imitate the love of Mary Magdalene and of the sisters of Lazarus for Christ. If thou lovest Him as they loved Him, He will give thee all thou askest of Him.'

When he had spoken thus, he gave her a kiss of eternal farewell, and went away beyond Jordan, with men who had become savage for God's sake, and who dwelt apart from the world, but God the omniscient Creator knew the place of their sojourn.

The patriarch appointed the mother of Nino to serve poor and infirm women, and St. Nino served the Armenian Niaphori of Dvini two years, reading continually of Christ's sufferings on the cross, of His burial, resurrection, and garments, of His linen, shroud, and cross. She learned everything, for there had been and there was no one in Jerusalem equal to the Niaphori in knowledge of the ancient law and the new; she excelled all. The Niaphori thus instructing her said: 'I see, my child, thy strength, like the strength of the lioness, whose

<sup>1</sup> A.V. adds: 'they went away to his own town Colasa' (var. Colastra).

<sup>2</sup> Nino is simply *nonna*, i.e. the nun.

<sup>3</sup> A.V. adds 'day and night unceasingly.'

roar is louder than that of any four-footed animal, or like the female eagle, which, soaring in the highest air, beyond the male, and, with the pupil of her eye, seeing all the country, tiny as a pearl, stops, searches, and like lightning perceiving her prey—she plumes her wings and immediately swoops upon it. Even thus may thy life be by the guidance of the Holy Spirit. Now will I declare unto thee everything: When to this earth of mortal man the immortal God came to call in the heathen, for He Himself wished to deliver the world, He began to do good to the Jews, to raise the dead, to give sight to the blind, and healing to the sick. The people were envious against him, and, taking counsel together, they sent soldiers (? couriers<sup>1</sup>) to ask the Jews to come to Jerusalem quickly, saying: "Come, let us gather together and destroy Him." Then, from all parts, came numerous wise men, learned in the law of Moses, who resisted the Holy Spirit, and Him that was the Christ they did slay. They crucified Him and cast lots for His raiment, and it<sup>2</sup> fell to the lot of a citizen of Mtskheth'a, in the North. The Jews buried Christ, and guarded and sealed His tomb, but He rose again, as He had said from the beginning. And they found the linen early in Christ's tomb, whither Pilate and his wife came. When they found it, Pilate's wife asked for the linen, and went away quickly to her house in Pontus, and she became a believer in Christ<sup>3</sup>. Some time afterwards, the linen came into the hands of Luke the Evangelist, who put it in a place known only to himself.

'Now they did not find the shroud (*sudari*), but it is said to have been found by Peter, who took it and kept it, but we know not if it has ever been discovered. The crosses are buried in the city of Jerusalem, though no man knows in what place; when it shall please God they also shall appear.'

<sup>1</sup> stratioti.

<sup>2</sup> A.V. 'the *cvart'hi*,' i. e. chiton, tunic or shirt.

<sup>3</sup> This passage does not occur in Kart'hlis Tskhovreba, nor in any other variant, except A.V.



When St. Nino heard all this from Sara the Niamphori she offered thanks and blessing to God, and asked: 'Where is that northern land whence the Jews came and whither they took the raiment of our Lord Christ?' Sara answered: 'There is in the East, in the land of Kart'hli, a town called Mtzkhet'ha, near Somkhet'hi and Mt'hiulet'hi, and now it has become a part of the empire of the Uzhiks<sup>2</sup>, and is a land of idolators.'

Now in those days a certain woman came from Ephesus, to worship at the holy places, and Sara Niamphori asked her if Queen Elene was still in error and darkness. And the woman answered: 'I am their servant; a sharer in all their counsels both open and secret, and I know that she has now a great desire for the law of Christ and baptism.' When St. Nino heard this, she said to the Niamphori: 'Send me, and I will go before Elene the Queen; shall not I appear in her presence and speak for Christ's sake?' The Niamphori told the patriarch what Nino desired and intended, and the patriarch, Nino's uncle, called his niece, and placed her on the steps of the holy altar. He laid his holy hands upon her shoulders, sighed towards heaven from the depths of his heart, and said: 'O Everlasting Lord God, I entreat Thine aid for my sister's orphan child, and I send her to preach Thy divinity. May she spread the good tidings of Thy Resurrection; wherever it pleases Thee may her course be; may this wanderer become, O Christ God, a haven of rest, a leader, wise in speech, since she goes forth in Thy name.' And her mother gave her a farewell kiss, and made the sign of the cross upon her<sup>3</sup>, and thus, with prayers to God, and blessings, they parted.

Nino  
departs

St. Nino set out with the woman who had come from

<sup>1</sup> A.V. 'It is a mountainous land north of Somkhit'hi, ruled by the Greeks and Uzhiks.'

<sup>2</sup> Uzhiks or Uses, now Osses, Ossets. Cf. *Const. Porphyrog. de Adm. Imp.* c. 27; also Acts ii. 9 in the Georgian version. The Uzhiks have also been described as Babylonians, Huns, Circassians (Odighe, Zychi).

<sup>3</sup> A.V. 'gave me a cross.'

Ephesus. When they arrived in the kingdom of the Romans, in the house of that woman who had travelled with her they saw a certain queen <sup>1</sup> (? royal princess), by name Riphstime, and her foster-mother Gaiane <sup>2</sup>. They dwelt in a nunnery for virgins, longing to confess Christ, and waiting for baptism from Jerusalem. The woman came to St. Nino, and told her about queen Riphstime, and when Nino heard how Riphstime loved Christ, she also went to dwell with her, with the woman who was her fellow-pilgrim. In the same year St. Nino baptized Riphstime, who had longed much for this, and, with her, her foster-mother Gaiane and others of her household, to the number of fifty <sup>3</sup> souls; and St. Nino lived in the nunnery <sup>4</sup> with them two years.

<sup>5</sup> In those days the emperor sent forth to seek a maiden good and beautiful who might be to him a worthy wife. When the messengers arrived at the convent of virgins they saw Riphstime, and learnt that she was akin to kings. They were greatly pleased with her beauty, for nowhere could be seen one like unto her in loveliness. They drew her fair face and made a portrait of her on wood, and sent it to the emperor. When he saw it he was exceeding glad, and, filled with joy, he resolved to celebrate the wedding with splendour and great pomp. So he hastened and sent messengers and rulers

<sup>1</sup> A.V. *vadagi mephetha*.

<sup>2</sup> A.V. omits 'and her foster-mother Gaiane.'

<sup>3</sup> A.V. 'forty.'

<sup>4</sup> A.V. 'house.'

<sup>5</sup> A.V. omits the legend of Riphstime, from 'In those days the emperor . . . down to the incident of Nino's being hidden in a briar-bush (p. 15), where it goes on: 'And I was left in a briar-bush.' A.V. substitutes the following passage: 'Then the Lord looked down upon Greece, and King Constantine became a believer; and he confessed Christ, he and his mother and all his court, in the year from the beginning (A.M.) 5444, from the resurrection of Christ, 311 (this date is in no other variant), and all Greece received Christianity. In the seventh year was the holy assembly at Nicaea, and in the eighth year our flight from Greece—Queen Riphstime, her foster-mother Gaiane and fifty souls, we set out in the first month on the 15th day. And we came into the bounds of Soukhithi (Armenia) into the garden of King Thrdat; there were they slain in the first month on the 30th day, on a Friday' (this date is not found in any other variant).

to all in his kingdom, ordering them to collect gifts; with great rejoicing they came, at his summons, to the imperial nuptials.

Now when those saints saw the secret cunning of the enemy, and the fiery darts he hastened to shoot at Christ's holy ones, they were afflicted, for the king was a tool of wrath—like the serpent which spake in Paradise, even so was this heathen who was given over to the profane worship of unclean, abominable idols. When the blessed Riphstime and Gaiane, and others of the nuns saw this temptation which had come upon them, they remembered their vows of chastity which they had made. Woefully they wept that the pagan king had learnt of the beauty of St. Riphstime from the picture. They inflicted severe penance on themselves, fervently praying and entreating God without ceasing; and, being of one mind, they secretly fled from that land—fifty and three souls. The fugitives arrived within the borders of Somkhit'hi (Armenia), at the place which is called Akhal-kalaki, outside which is Dvini, the royal residence (?).

Flight of  
Riphstime  
and her  
com-  
panions to  
Armenia.

They entered into wine-presses which were built to the north and east, and they kept themselves by selling their handiwork.

Now when the emperor saw that St. Riphstime and others with her had escaped from his hands, and from his wicked love, he was full of bitter discontent, and sent men forth into all places to seek them. And the imperial envoys came before Trdat, king of the Somekhi (Armenians), and delivered to him the emperor's letter, which was as follows:—

The em-  
peror's  
letter to  
Trdat,  
king of  
Armenia.

‘I, the emperor, greet my beloved brother sovereign and friend, Trdat. Be it known to thee, my brother and ally, that the sect of Christians, from whom formerly we have suffered, have again insulted our majesty and outraged our kingdom. They serve a certain dead man who was crucified, and worship a piece of wood, esteeming it a glory to die for their Lord; they fear not the Jews, but they fear Him who was slain and crucified by them; they insult kings and condemn the gods, and they even venerate not the sun, moon and stars,

but say all was created by the Crucified; and they flee from the world, fathers and mothers forsaking one another, separate while yet living. Although I have threatened and tortured them they increase more and more. But it came to pass that I saw the portrait of one of this sect, a young maiden, and I resolved to take her to wife; but her heart had no desire even for the love of the king. She looked upon me as loathsome and unclean, and fled secretly from me; and they are come into the bounds of thy land. Therefore, be it known unto thee, my brother, that thou shouldst seek for her and find her; and let those who are with her die the death, for they led her into error, but as for her who is so fair of face, Ripsime by name, send her to me. Yet, if she please thee, take her for thine own, for thou canst not find in the world of the Ioni (? Ionians, Greeks) a fairer—and mayst thou be kept alive in the service of the gods.'

When Trdat had read this command of the emperor, he immediately made haste to search, and when he found them in the wine-presses and saw Ripsime, love's desire wounded him, and he was filled with great joy, and resolved to take her to wife. Ripsime would not consent to this, therefore he martyred her, with Gaiane her foster-mother and many others with them, as is written in the book of their martyrdom; and we know of the miracles performed at the time of their martyrdom in the conversion of the Armenians, and by God's providence King Trdat through them was converted.

Trdat desires to marry Ripsime,

who refuses, and is martyred.

Now some of those holy women escaped, among whom was St. Nino, who hid in a briar bush which had not yet put forth its flowers. And while St. Nino was thus hidden, she saw the form of an archdeacon<sup>1</sup> descending from heaven, clad in a stole of light, holding in his hands a censer from which arose sweet smelling smoke, concealing the heavens; and with him were many celestial beings. The souls of the holy martyrs were set free from their bodies, and were united to the host of shining ones, and together they mounted to

Nino escapes and hides in a briar bush. Her vision.

<sup>1</sup> A.V. 'deacon.'

heaven. When St. Nino saw this, she cried aloud: 'O Lord, O Lord, why leavest Thou me here among asps and vipers?' Then she heard a voice from heaven saying: 'Thou too shalt be led away into the kingdom of heaven before the throne of God at the time when this thorn which is around thee shall be sweet with the scent of rose-leaves<sup>1</sup>; but now arise and go into the land of the North where the harvest is great but of labourers there is none.'

Nino  
travels  
northward,

tarries  
at Lake  
P'haravan,

Then St. Nino went thence, and arrived at Orbant'hi<sup>2</sup>, on the bounds of Somkhit'hi; and after four months—from March till June—she set forth and came to the mountains of Javakhet'hi<sup>3</sup> [where was the great lake which is called P'haravan. When St. Nino reached this place, and saw the northern mountains in summer covered with snow, and felt the coldness of the air, she trembled, and spake thus: 'O Lord, O Lord, receive my soul!' She tarried there two days, and begged nourishment from the fishermen who fished in the lake. There were also shepherds there, and when they watched their flocks by night they called upon their gods Armaz and Zaden to help them, and promised them sacrifices when they should come before them in peace. This they spoke in the Armenian tongue, which St. Nino had formerly studied a little with Niaphora, and she spake to one of the shepherds, and asked him: 'Of what village are you?' And he answered, saying: 'We are from<sup>4</sup> Kindzari, Rabati and the great city of Mtzkhet'ha, where these gods reign and kings rule<sup>5</sup>.' St. Nino asked them: 'Where is that city of

<sup>1</sup> A.V. adds: 'by thy means.'

<sup>2</sup> A.V. 'Uloporet'hi, where I wintered in great distress'; Kart'hlis Tskhovreba, 'Orbant'hi'; Queen Mariam's MS. 'Urbnit'hi'; Nat'hlistzemeli MS. 'Orbnit hi'; Shiomghvimeli MS, 'Urbnisi.'

<sup>3</sup> A.V. omits 'from March till June,' and all the passage from 'where was the great lake' to the words, 'Then she set out and came to the other side' (on p. 18). This passage is inserted from the Nat'hlistzemeli and Shiomghvimeli MSS. A.V. inserts after the word 'Javakhet'hi': 'that I might learn where Mtzkhet'ha was.'

<sup>4</sup> Some MSS. insert 'Elarbini and Sap'hurtzeli.'

<sup>5</sup> 'Ghmert'hni ghmert'hoben da mep'heni mep'hoben,' lit. 'the gods act as gods, the kings as kings.'

Mtzkhet'ha?' They answered her: 'On the river flowing from this lake lies Mtzkhet'ha.'

When St. Nino saw how terrible was the length of the way, and how fearful the mountains, her spirit was seized with trembling. She placed a great stone for a pillow, and slept by that river flowing from the lake. And as she slept, there came to her in a vision a man of exceeding tallness, whose hair fell down on his shoulders(?)<sup>1</sup>; and he gave a sealed scroll to St. Nino, saying: 'Bear this swiftly to Mtzkhet'ha and give it to the heathen king.' But St. Nino began to weep, and entreated him, saying: 'O Lord, I am a stranger woman and unskilled, and I know not how to speak their tongue. How can I go into a strange land, among a strange people?' Then the man undid the book, on which was the seal of Jesus Christ, and in it were written, in the Roman tongue<sup>2</sup>, ten sayings, as on the tables of stone delivered to Moses, and he gave them to St. Nino to read, and these were the sayings:

where ten precepts are delivered to her in a vision.

1. Wherever they preach this gospel, there shall they speak of this woman. Matt. xxvi. 13.
2. Neither male nor female, but you are all one. Gal. iii. 28.
3. Go ye and make disciples of all the heathen, and baptize them in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Matt. xxviii. 19.
4. A light to shine upon the heathen, and to give glory to thy people Israel. Luke ii. 32.
5. <sup>3</sup>Preach the good tidings of the kingdom of heaven in all the world. Mark xvi. 15.
6. Whoever receiveth you receiveth Me, and whoever receiveth Me receiveth Him that sent Me. Matt. x. 40.
7. Now Mary was greatly beloved of the Lord, so that He always hearkened to her truth and wisdom.
8. Be not afraid of those who can destroy your bodies, but are not able to destroy your soul. Matt. x. 28.

<sup>1</sup> 't'hma t'hmosani.'

<sup>2</sup> 'enit'ha romelebrit'ha' (? Greek).

<sup>3</sup> Omitted in Shio Mghvime MS.

9. Jesus said to Mary Magdalene: 'Go, O woman, and tell the good news to My brethren.' John xx. 17.

10. Whithersoever ye go, preach in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

She  
travels to  
Urbnisi.

When St. Nino had read through these words, she began to pray to God, and perceived plainly that this was a vision from on high. And she raised her eyes to heaven and besought the aid of the all-preserving God, established in the highest<sup>1</sup>.] Then she set out and came to the other side of the river, to the part which flows westward, where she met many difficulties and trials on the road, fearful wild beasts and many troubles, until she reached the place where the stream begins to flow eastward, and then she was consoled, for there she found travellers, with whom she arrived in the suburbs of the city which is called Urbnisi, where she saw the worship of strange gods, for they worshipped fire, stones and wood. This grieved the soul of St. Nino. She entered the quarter<sup>2</sup> of the Jews, with whom she talked in the Hebrew tongue (wherein she was skilled); and she tarried there a month and learned the habits and customs of that land.

Arrives at  
Mtzkhet'-  
ha, where  
she sees a  
pagan  
festival.

One day a great multitude of people set forth from that town to the great royal city<sup>3</sup> of Mtzkhet'ha, to buy what they needed, and to offer sacrifice to their god Armaz; and with them went St. Nino. When they reached the city of Mtzkhet'ha they took up their quarters near the bridge of the Magi<sup>4</sup>. And when St. Nino saw the magicians, fire-worshippers, seducers of the people, she wept for their doom, and mourned their strange ways. And, behold, on the next day there was a great noise of trumpets and shouting, and a fearful tumult, and people without number, like the flowers of the field, rushing and crowding, waited for

<sup>1</sup> A.V. begins again.

<sup>2</sup> Kart'hlis Tzkhovreba: 'ubansa Uriat'hasa,' into the quarter of the Jews; Queen Mariam's MS., 'baginsa Romelt'hasa,' into the Roman quarter.

<sup>3</sup> Kart'hlis Tzkh. 'deda kalakad,' to the mother-city, metropolis.

<sup>4</sup> Pompey's bridge, built in 65 B.C. The modern bridge is on the same site.

the king and queen to come forth. Then came Queen Nana, and after her coming the people went quietly, and adorned all her path, and enclosed it with hangings of every colour, and strewed her way with leaves of trees, and flowers, and all the people began to praise the king. Next came King Mirian, terrible and in great pomp. St. Nino asked a certain Jewess: 'What is this?' She replied: 'It is their custom to go up before their god of gods, like whom is no other idol.' When St. Nino heard this, she ascended with the people to see the idol Armaz, and the mountain-sides were beautified with standards and ornaments like flowers of the field. And St. Nino hastened up to the fortress of Armaz, and placed herself near the idol in a crevice of the rock, and noticed the incomprehensible and inexpressible strangeness of the rites. There was a great noise, and the king and all the people trembled and were afraid before the idol. St. Nino saw standing a man made of copper, whose form was clad in a golden coat of mail, and he had on his head a golden helmet, and his shoulder-pieces and his eyes were of emeralds and beryls, and he held in his hands a sword bright as the lightning flash, which was turned in his hand, and none dared touch the idol on pain of death. And they spake thus: 'If here there be any who despise the glory of the great god Armaz, of those who agree with the Hebrews, who hearken not to the priests who teach sun-worship, or of those who adore a certain strange god and Son of the God of heaven—if here among us be any of these wicked ones, may the sword of him whom all the world fears strike them down!' When they had thus spoken, they each, one by one, worshipped the idol with fear and trembling. At its right hand was another idol, of gold, with the face of a man, and its name was Gatz<sup>1</sup>, and at its left hand was an idol of silver, with the face of a man, and its name was Gaim<sup>2</sup>, which were the gods of the Kart'hlian people.

When the blessed Nino saw this, she began to sigh

<sup>1</sup> *Catzi* in Georgian signifies 'man.'

<sup>2</sup> A.V. Ga (? γὰ).



Nino's  
prayer.

and weep tears to God, because of the error of the land of the North, for the light was hidden from them, and the rule of darkness was over them<sup>1</sup>. She saw their kings, with their hosts and all the princes, journeying, as it were, onward to be swallowed up alive in hell, for they had left their Creator, and worshipped gods of stone, of wood, of brass and of copper, and these they regarded as the creators of all. Then St. Nino remembered those words which her mother's brother Iobenal, the patriarch, had spoken to her: 'As a hero I send thee forth, for thou goest into a strange land, to those of the race of Dargevel, Zewel, Barcidul<sup>2</sup>, which is in the Branjian language: 'men who are enemies and adversaries of God.' She raised her eyes to heaven and said: 'O Lord, by Thy great power overturn these Thine enemies, and by Thy great longsuffering may this people become wise, and all Thy foes disappear from the earth like dust and ashes, but do not despise man whom Thou hast made in Thy likeness, and for whom One of the Trinity became man and gave life to all in the world. Look down upon their race, and deliver their souls from the wicked and invisible ruler, the prince of darkness, and grant, O Lord God of my father and mother, unto me Thy handmaiden, born to serve Thee, that Thy salvation may be seen in all corners of Thy earth, that the north with the south may rejoice, and that all the people may worship the only God, through Jesus Christ Thy Son, to whom it is fitting to give glory with thanks for ever.'

A great  
storm  
arises.

When St. Nino had finished this prayer and praise, immediately God sent forth west winds and hurricanes, with clouds fearful and ominous to look upon, and the noisy roar of thunder was heard, and at the setting of the sun there blew a wind with a bitter, ill-smelling, noxious odour. The multitude, perceiving this, began hastily to run and flee

<sup>1</sup> The Georgian words for 'north' and 'shadow' are practically the same. Hence the play upon words.

<sup>2</sup> K. Tzkh. 'Dargevel, Zewel, Barcadul'; A.V. 'Dgevel, Zephel, Narca-dovel'; Shio Mghv. and Nat'hl. Mtz. 'Darbevel, Zephel, Barcadul.'

towards their dwellings in the town. God gave them but little time, and when they were all safe at home, suddenly His wrath burst forth fiercely from the cruel cloud, and hail fell, like stones the size of two hands<sup>1</sup>, piercing, hard and strong, on the house of the idols, and broke them in little pieces, and the walls were destroyed by the terrible wind, and cast among the rocks<sup>2</sup>. But Nino stood unharmed, watching from the same place where she had stood at the beginning.

On the next day came King Mirian, and all the people, to seek for their gods, but they could not find them. Therefore were they seized with fear and trembling, and astonishment filled their minds; and many said: 'The idols are thus helpless and cast down because It'hrujan, the god of the Chaldeans, and this our god Armaz have always been enemies, for Armaz made the sea go over his land, and now he is envious and has done thus to him.' Some affirmed that it was done by that God by whose power Trdat, the king of Armenia, had been turned into a wild boar, and then again from a wild boar into a man, for what other god could have done such a thing as this? Since that time when King Trdat by the power of Christ was turned into a wild boar, and by the power of Christ was again turned into a man, the praise and glory of Christ was no longer secretly spoken in Kart'hli, for in the east the grace of God began to shine.

<sup>3</sup> Now in that day of wrath and of the overthrow of the

<sup>1</sup> A.V. 'litrisa'—weighing one pound or nine pounds.

<sup>2</sup> In A.V. a leaf is wanting here, down to the words 'for in the east the grace of God began to shine' (end of next paragraph). The missing passage is found in Shio Mghv. and Nat'hl. Mtz. MSS.

<sup>3</sup> A.V. begins again as follows: 'And the king said, with tears: "Hehe rait'hmeboi khojat'h st'habanub rasul p'hsar zad," which is, being translated: "Thou speakest truly, O happy queen and apostle of the Son of God."—Now in that day of wrath,' &c.

Prof. Margoliouth points out that the words added in A.V. and beginning *Hehe* . . . are a transliteration of late Persian, and probably correspond to the following:

هی راست می گوئی خجسته خاتون و رسول پسر ایزد

Ah, ah, thou speakest truly, fortunate lady and apostle of the Son of God.

St. Nino  
dwells on  
the hill,

idols, when the hail and cruel wind were ceased, St. Nino came out from her crevice in the rock, and found the beryl eye, which she took, and went away to the edge of the precipice. In that place had been in ancient times a fortress and a city<sup>1</sup>, and she saw standing there a tree which is called *brinji*<sup>2</sup> (acacia), very lofty, and fair to look upon, with many branches, under whose shade she set up the sign of the cross, and there she tarried six days, giving thanks and entreating God that He would look down with mercy and deliver that people from the error of the devils. And when the overthrow of the idols took place it was the fifth month from March—the sixth day of August, the day on which Christ was transfigured before the prophets and His disciples<sup>3</sup>.

is visited  
by Shro-  
shana,

As I said, St. Nino dwelt hidden under the tree. There came to her from the court a maiden named Shroshana, who when she saw St. Nino was surprised, and asked her, by means of a woman speaking Greek, whence she came and what she did. When she learnt all from St. Nino (except about her parentage) and how she was a captive<sup>4</sup>, Shroshana, sympathetic and gracious because of her being a stranger, with tears besought St. Nino to go home with her to the palace; but St. Nino would not, and Shroshana departed.

lives nine  
months in  
the house  
of the  
king's  
gardener,

Three days afterwards she arose, crossed the river Kura, and reached the royal garden, where is now the divinely raised column and the church of the Catholicos. There she saw the little house of the keeper of the garden, and went in. Anastos, the keeper's wife, met her, and graciously kissed her, as if she had known her and been her friend for a long time. She bathed her feet, anointed her with oil, and gave her bread and wine. St. Nino tarried with her nine months.

<sup>1</sup> Harmozica, built by King Bartom. Strabo, xi. 3. 5; Pliny, Hist. nat. vi. 10. 2.

<sup>2</sup> 'The tree under which King Bartom used to rest and refresh himself.' Sakarth. Samot'hkhe, p. 74.

<sup>3</sup> A.V. 'Evmanuvel on Tabor showed us Himself in the image of the Father.'

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Rufinus. A.V. omits here all reference to parentage and captivity.

Now Anastos and her husband were childless, and were much grieved thereat. In sleep, St. Nino saw a vision of a man clothed in light, who said to her: 'Go into the garden, and you will find at the foot of a cedar a little twig ready to sprout forth with sweet smelling flowers of many beautiful colours. Take the earth from that place and give it to the couple to eat, and they shall have a son.' St. Nino prayed, and gave it to the husband and wife to eat, even as the angel had commanded, and there was born to them a son, and, afterwards, many daughters. Then they believed on Christ, and secretly became disciples of Nino<sup>1</sup>.

whose wife  
bears a son.

After the nine months which St. Nino spent in the house of the gardener, she found outside the walls of the city, as it were a little tent formed of brambles, by God's providence, in that place where is now the altar of the Church of the Samt'havarepiscopei (Archbishop), and there she took up her abode and place of rest, and there she raised her cross, which she had formed out of vine twigs, and sat up all night before it to watch, and turned night into day by her unceasing prayers and entreaties to God. Wondering at her many sufferings, the couple who kept the king's garden served her. Whilst she dwelt thus, St. Nino often visited the Jewish quarter, that she might converse in the Hebrew tongue, and learn the whereabouts of the Lord's tunic (*cvarl'hi*), of which she had heard at Jerusalem from the Niamphori—how it had been carried away by the Jews of Mtzkhet'ha, who would know where it was.

Nino re-  
tires to a  
bower.

She met a certain Jew, a priest called Abiat'har, and his daughter Sidonia, and preached to them the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. And they accepted it, and became her disciples, with other Jewish women, to the number of six, taught by St. Nino, except baptism, for at that time there was no priest to baptize them, and secretly they were her disciples. And God, by the hands of St. Nino, performed

Abiat'har,  
Sidonia,  
and other  
Jews be-  
come her  
disciples.

<sup>1</sup> A.V. omits the rest of this chapter, substituting for it Nino's dream of the birds (p. 29).

many wonders and cures, for, by the use of herbs, she freed many incurable from their ailments.

Constantine defeats an invasion of Georgians and Persians.

Three years lived she thus in the city of Mtskhetha, and then King Mirian and his nephew, the king of the Persians, made an expedition into Greece. Constantine, the Greek emperor, put them to flight by the power of Christ, and through His cross, which was borne before all the emperor's armies.

*The words of Abiat'har the priest, who was converted by the holy and blessed Nino*<sup>1</sup>.

Story of Abiat'har.

I, Abiat'har, became priest, chosen by lot, in that year when the holy and blessed mother Nino arrived in Mtskhetha.

Here receives a letter from the Jews in Antioch.

After that<sup>2</sup>, I received from the Jewish priests in Antioch a letter wherein were these words:—

‘God has broken into three parts the kingdom of Israel, for lo! our prophets have ceased, and those in whom the Spirit of God still dwelt told us that all was fulfilled. We are scattered over all the earth, and the Romans have seized our land; we do nought but weep, for the wrath of God our Creator is fallen upon us. Now search, therefore, the Book of Moses<sup>3</sup>, who described all this to us—how He who on earth called Himself the Son of God would be slain. And we have been the cause of the slaying of this Nazarene. Now we see how from the first our fathers have sinned against God and have wholly forgotten Him. Then He gave them into the hand of the wicked, but they turned again and cried aloud unto God, and He speedily saved them from their woes; and thus did they do, as we know from the Scriptures,

<sup>1</sup> In A.V. this chapter comes after the story of the miracle performed by the holy pillar (p. 41).

<sup>2</sup> A.V. ‘letters arrived from Rome and Egypt, and from the Hebrew priests and scribes in Babylon.’

<sup>3</sup> A.V. ‘who tells us: “He who calls Himself God on the earth shall be hanged on a tree.”’

even unto the seventh time. Now, since the hands of our fathers have been raised against the Son of the Virgin, and they have killed Him, God has become wroth with us. He has destroyed our kingdom, and has sent us away from His temple. Our race is altogether despised. And from those days three hundred years (nay, more) have passed, and He has not hearkened to our prayers. Therefore it seems that this surely is not false, but that Man was from heaven.'

Much more did they write unto us, concerning themselves. When I had heard this, I began to inquire of the woman Nino about this Christ: who He was, and why the Son of God had become man. St. Nino opened her mouth, from which the words flowed forth like water from a well, and she began to tell unto me by heart our books, even from the beginning, and to declare their power. And lo! she awakened me as from sleep, and cast light upon my stony heart, and made the misery of my fathers manifest unto me. I trusted in the new law, and believed in the words of the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who had suffered and risen again, and who would come a second time with glory, and who was, and is in truth, the expectation of the Gentiles. My daughter Sidonia and I became worthy to receive sprinkling by the water of baptism, for the cleansing from sins, which the prophet David had desired, and of which he could not partake. I heard the voice of those that chanted together the new law, which David also had longed to hear. And I became worthy to partake of the true body and blood of Christ, the Son of God, of the Lamb slain for the sins of the world, which is of a sweet savour; and in this faith, O Lord, may my soul pass from my body! And lo! we saw with our eyes many kinds of miracles performed, in Mtzkhet'ha, by St. Nino<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> A.V. adds: 'And the house of Eliozi was in the west of the city, at the Gate Mogvet'hi (of the Magicians), on the river Kura; and there was their little cemetery, upon which St. Nino raised the cross of Christ, and one by one the nobles were baptized there by Jacob the priest and Prosila the arch-

*The words of the same Abiat'har the priest concerning the tunic (shirt) of our Lord Jesus Christ*<sup>1</sup>.

I, Abiat'har, relate unto you that story which I have heard, and which I have learnt with mine ears from my parents, who learnt it from epistles, and from their parents and grandparents.

The Georgian Jews

In those days when Herod ruled in Jerusalem, there was a deacon. They called the place "The Nobles' Place of Baptism," and it was very well known in our days, for it stood in a plain, without other buildings.

'In those days the Jews of Mtzkhet'ha were filled with hatred towards me; and they tore down the tree-fern (?) (cilamo) which stood over against the door of the sanctuary and adorned the place, for its branches were entwined over all the front of the building.

'And they began to go thence, except those of the house of the Barabeans, of whom fifty souls were baptized, and they became inhabitants of Mtzkhet'ha, and Mirian gave them a village which is called *Tzikhe didi*. They were great before the king, and were all Christians, by the grace and guidance of the blessed Nino.'

(The Barabeans are mentioned on p. 43 as Cabrabians.)

<sup>1</sup> In A.V. this chapter is headed: 'Chapter VII, written down by the Hebrew woman called Sidonia, daughter of Abiat'har the priest.' It begins: 'And it came to pass that the Lord looked down with mercy on this forgotten northern land of the Caucasians, on the mountaineers of Somkhit'hi, on which mountains was spread a mist, and in the plains a vapour of error and ignorance. And the land was shadowed from the sight and knowledge of the sun of righteousness, the Son of God; its name in truth is land of the shadow (cf. note 1 on p. 20). . . . There passed until the birth of Christ 5100 years; from His birth to His crucifixion 33 years; from the crucifixion until the conversion of King Constantine of Greece 311 years; fourteen years later our queen Nino was sent with the message of truth to the mountains of darkness, and the dawn arose, and then shone forth the great monarch of day. Such was our history, O Georgians. For we were turned from the light, and were inheritors of darkness. We rejoiced gaily and amassed treasure, but when we mourned there was no consoler; we served things created, and not the Creator. Our fathers (i.e. the Jews) worshipped Gebal and Garizin, seated on cherubim, and beside was no God, nor Moses, nor a sign of them, but idols of soulless stone. And in this land of Kart'hli were two mountains, and on them two idols, Armaz and Zaden, who stink with the ill odour of a thousand souls of first-born youths, whom parents sacrificed until now. And there were other royal idols, Gatzi and Ga, and they sacrificed to them a prince, whom they burned with fire, and the ashes were scattered about the head of the idol.'

a rumour that the Persians had taken Jerusalem<sup>1</sup>, and because of this there was grief and mourning among the Georgian Jews dwelling in Mtzkhet'ha, the priests of Bodi, the scribes of Codi's stream, and the translators of the law in K'hobi<sup>2</sup>. These were all moved to go and help those in Jerusalem. But after a few days another messenger arrived with the consoling tidings that the Persians were not come to take Jerusalem; for instead of arms<sup>3</sup> they carried royal<sup>4</sup> gold, myrrh (a speedy healer of wounds), and sweet smelling incense<sup>5</sup>. They sought a certain child born of the seed of David, of a virgin, and they found the child born of a virgin, out of season, in an unseemly place, as is the custom for strangers(?). And they came to the Babe and worshipped Him, and offered Him their gifts, and they<sup>6</sup> went away in peace<sup>7</sup>. And the Georgian Jews heard these tidings with great joy.

After this, thirty years passed by, and Anna<sup>8</sup> the priest wrote from Jerusalem to my father Eliozi<sup>9</sup> that He to whom the kings of Persia came bringing gifts was grown up and arrived at man's estate<sup>10</sup>, and that He called Himself the Son

hear of  
Christ's  
nativity.

Annas, the  
high priest,  
summons  
Eliazi to  
Jerusalem  
to be

<sup>1</sup> A.V. 'that twelve kings had come to take the land.'

<sup>2</sup> The Hebrew settlements mentioned in the text seem to have been the following: *Bodi*, Budi or Bodbe, in Cakhet'hi, near Signakh, the place of Nino's death and burial: her nunnery there still exists. *Codis tsqaro*, in Kart'hli, a small stream running into the salt Lake Cumisi, not far from the Kura, below Tiflis. Coda village is on this stream. *K'hobi* (in A.V. Sobi, but ? misprint)—K'hoba is a small town in Saintzkhe, near the town and old fortress of T'hmogvi, district of Akhaltzikhe.

<sup>3</sup> A.V. 'and provisions.'

<sup>4</sup> A.V. 'yellow.'

<sup>5</sup> A.V. 'the kings themselves bare burdens.'

<sup>6</sup> A.V. 'crossed the mountains and.'

<sup>7</sup> A.V. 'Now fear not, O Jews; I, Herod, sought and found not that child, nor its mother. But now I have raised the sword against all children of two years and less, and have destroyed him with them.'

<sup>8</sup> A.V. 'Ana.'

<sup>9</sup> A.V. 'father's father Oziai.'

<sup>10</sup> A.V. 'and was arrived with John the son of Zakaria at the river Jordan. There went forth all the people of Jerusalem, and with them was thy father's mother's brother Elios (? Vthos). And behold the sky thundered, and the earth trembled, the mountains shook, the hills sang, the sea stood still, the waters arose—the son of Zakaria fled, and we were all seized with fear and trembling; and because of the multitude of the people we were silent concerning this matter.'



present at  
Christ's  
death.

of God. 'Come hither unto His death, which will fulfil the law of God and of Moses.'

Eliozi went thither; he was my father's father, an aged man, and his mother was of the race of Eli the priest, and Eliozi had one sister. The mother of Eliozi entreated him, saying: 'Go, my son, at the royal summons of the king, to fulfil that law, despite which they take counsel. Consort not with them, O my son, for He is the word of the prophets and the fable of the wise, and the secret hidden from the Jews, the light of the Gentiles and life everlasting.' Eliozi of Mtzkhet'ha and Longinozi of Carsni went away, and saw the crucifixion of the Lord Christ.

Eliozi's  
mother  
hears the  
nailing of  
Christ to  
the cross,  
and dies.

Now when they nailed the Lord on the cross, and Hasanig<sup>1</sup> struck the nails with an iron hammer in Jerusalem, Eliozi's mother, in Mtzkhet'ha, heard the blows, and suddenly cried out: 'Farewell, kingdom of the Jews, for ye have slain your Saviour and Deliverer, and henceforth ye shall be accounted enemies and murderers of your Creator! Woe is me that I am not buried before His death, for mine ears shall no longer hear, and after this I am no longer worthy to look upon the light of the Gentiles and the peace of Israel.' When she had uttered these words, she straightway entered into rest.

Eliozi carries  
Christ's  
tunic to  
Mtzkhet'-  
ha, and  
gives it  
to his  
sister, who  
dies, and  
is buried  
with the  
tunic.

The Lord's tunic fell by lot to the Jews of Mtzkhet'ha, and Eliozi took it to Mtzkhet'ha. His sister received him in tears, and embraced his neck; and taking the garment of Jesus, she pressed it to her bosom, and immediately her soul passed from her body. Threefold was the cause of her death: bitter grief at the slaying of Christ, sorrow for her mother's death, and <sup>2</sup> disappointment that she had not been present with her brother at the crucifixion. Then there was great wonder and turmoil in Mtzkhet'ha, which reached even unto King

<sup>1</sup> A.V. 'Pasanic'; Q. Mariam's MS. 'Pasang'; Shio Mghv. MS. and Nat'hl. Mtz. 'Pasanic'; Kart'hl. Tzkh. and other variants, 'Hasinig.' All these are probably corruptions of the word *pasenaki*, i.e. royal officer for executing justice, executioner.

<sup>2</sup> A.V. 'longing for the tunic.'

Aderci<sup>1</sup>; and all the people, and their princes, and King Aderci himself wished for the garment. But he was seized with horror and alarm when he found that he could not draw it from her hands; so firmly and eagerly did she clasp the garment to her breast, that her brother Eliozi buried it with her. The place where she was buried God only knows<sup>2</sup>, and none other can tell, save that it is near unto a cedar, brought from Lebanon, planted and reared in Mtzkhet'ha.

My father also told me that the mantle of Elijah, a double(?) garment, endued with divine power, is in that city, lying under the stone of the altar of strength, unfound<sup>3</sup> until the appointed time.

St. Nino urged me to ask my father to tell me all in detail, to satisfy her longing to know the place where the tunic was. But he only said that the place of its burial was there where the tongues of men sing praises to God, the place where Jacob saw the ladder which mounted to heaven<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>5</sup>After many years the grandnephew of King Aderci, King Amzael<sup>6</sup>, sought the garment among the Jews, but he could neither find it nor learn anything of it, except what is mentioned above: that it was said to be buried near a cedar of Lebanon. But the family of the same Eliozi, who brought the tunic and buried it with his sister, knew that it was to the east of the city, by the bridge of the Magi.

In those days St. Nino saw three times<sup>7</sup>, yea, four times, in sleep, a vision. She was on her knees, and, bent forward, had fallen into a light slumber. She saw birds with black wings fly down from heaven, and they entered into the river, and

<sup>1</sup> A.V. 'Amazaer,' but in all other variants Aderci is said to have been king of Kart'hli at Christ's death.

<sup>2</sup> A.V. 'and my mother Nino knows, but she does not tell, for it is not yet time to declare it. Let this suffice for disciples of Nino and believers in Christ, to know that it is near the place where a cedar brought from Lebanon was planted in Mtzkhet'ha.'

<sup>3</sup> A.V. 'incorruptible.'

<sup>4</sup> ? The altar of the church at Mtzkhet'ha thus described metaphorically.

<sup>5</sup> A.V. omits this paragraph.

<sup>6</sup> A.D. 88.

<sup>7</sup> A.V. 'twice and three times.'

bathed, and became pure white, and they flew into the garden already spoken of, and gathered the fruits and pecked the flowers; and they came graciously and lovingly towards Nino as if she were the mistress of the garden, and gathered round her, singing sweetly <sup>1</sup>.

When St. Nino told this to her disciple Sidonia (Abiat'har's daughter), she answered: 'O stranger, of foreign birth! captive, according to thy words! I know that by thee these times will be renewed, and through thy means will hear the story of what our fathers did; how they spilled the innocent blood of the Divine One, for which deed the Jews have become a shame, scattered to the ends of the earth, their kingdom destroyed, and their holy temple taken from them, their glory given unto a strange people. O Jerusalem, Jerusalem! thy wings are stretched forth <sup>2</sup>, and thou gatherest under thy wings every nation from the ends of the heavens. Behold now this woman is come, by whom will be changed all the law of this land.' Then she turned to Nino and said: 'This thy vision announces and declares, that this place will be spiritually changed by thee into a garden of Paradise, yielding heavenly fruits for evermore.'

Mirian returns from Greece.

<sup>3</sup> Now when King Mirian returned from Greece, put to flight by King Constantine, he heard how St. Nino preached the gospel of Christ; for he heard it openly said that 'the dwellers in the north were found in error,' and he was told of the vine-stem cross, and of the great miracles done by her. Without medicine she cured those who had incurable diseases by the application of the cross. Her disciples also preached: those who had been secretly converted, to the number of seven women of the Jewish race: Sidonia, the daughter of Abiat'har, and six others, and the couple who kept the king's garden, and Abiat'har the priest, that new Paul, who

Abiat'har's preaching.

<sup>1</sup> A. V. does not say that the birds were black, nor that they became white.

<sup>2</sup> A. V. 'thy children are scattered.'

<sup>3</sup> A. V. from this point to the incident of Khwarai (p. 33) is very brief, saying little about the miracles.

preached the law of Christ fearlessly and unceasingly. He was skilled in the old law, the new law he learned from Nino; and even more than Nino he convinced all men and taught the law of truth.

The Jews were moved to stone Abiat'har, but King Mirian sent servants and hindered the Jews from killing him, for King Mirian wished for the law of Christ, having heard of many miracles done by it in Greece and Armenia, and he did not hinder the preaching of Nino and her disciples. But the devil, the enemy of all true believers, warred against him; and Queen Nana<sup>1</sup> was more cruel than the king, and a despiser of the preaching of the true gospel of Christ.

Mirian protects Abiat'har against the Jews.

St. Nino prayed unceasingly in her dwelling in the bramble bush, and the heathen were surprised at her prayer and watching, and it seemed strange unto them, and they began to question her. And she made known to them the old and new books, making the foolish wise, and putting into their hearts the love of Christ.

Three years did she preach thus, converting many. Now there was a young boy of noble birth who was very sick, and his mother took him from door to door, to see if perchance she might find some skilled in healing, and helpful in his trouble. They all diligently inquired into his sickness, but none could cure the child, and the physicians told the woman that her boy could never be healed. The woman was a bitter heathen, hating the Christian faith, and hindering others from going to consult Nino; but, being in despair, she came and fell down before Nino, entreating her to heal the lad. St. Nino said: 'That healing art which is of man I know not; but my God whom I serve, Christ, can cure this child, though all think his case hopeless.' She placed the sick boy on the cloth<sup>2</sup> whereon she always prayed, and began to entreat the Lord; and the child was cured. She gave the astonished

Nino heals a young nobleman.

<sup>1</sup> Sabinin says that Nana was the daughter of the Pontian general Nikator, and that she raised a statue of Venus in Georgia. Others say she was the daughter of Ulitor of Pontus.

<sup>2</sup> *cilici*, i.e. cilicium.

and joyful boy to his mother, who confessed Christ, saying: 'There is no God save Christ, whom Nino preaches.' And she became St. Nino's disciple, and went her way glorifying God.

Queen  
Nana  
healed  
by Nino.

Queen Nana fell sick of a sore and grievous illness which none was able to cure. All the skilled physicians exhausted their medicines, and yet could do nothing; they were powerless and despairing. Then Queen Nana was told how the Roman captive woman, who was called Nino, had, by her prayers, healed many sick folk. She commanded her servants to bring Nino. They went and found her sitting in the bower under the bramble, praying, and it was the sixth hour. They told her the queen's command. (She answered:) 'We are not commanded to go out of our humble tent; but let the queen come hither to my abode, and verily she shall be cured by the power of Christ.' The servants related to the queen what Nino had said, and she eagerly bade them prepare her couch and take her; and her servants bore her on her couch, and her son, Rev, and many people went with her. When they came to St. Nino's dwelling, and placed the queen on the cloth, St. Nino began to pray and entreat God for a long time; then she took her cross, and with it touched the queen's head, her feet, and her shoulders, making the sign of the cross; and straightway she was cured, and arose restored; and she believed in Christ, and said: 'There is no other God save Christ, whom this captive woman preaches.' From that time she became the friend of Nino, and always inquired and sought to know the faith of Christ; and St. Nino, and Abiat'har (the new Paul), and his daughter Sidonia taught her. And the queen became a believer, and knew the true God.

Conversion  
of Queen  
Nana.

Mirian in-  
quires into  
the  
Christian  
faith.

The king inquired of her how she was so suddenly cured, and she told him all: how, without medicine, by the touch of a cross, she was healed; and multitudes who had seen it confirmed the queen's words. King Mirian was filled with wonder, and he began to seek the faith of Christ. Often he inquired of the Jew, Abiat'har, of the old and new books, and

he was instructed in everything. In the Book of Nebrot'hi<sup>1</sup>, Prophecy concerning Christ in the Book of Nimrod. which King Mirian had, he found what was written about the building of the tower<sup>2</sup>. How there was a voice from heaven to Nebrot'hi, saying: 'I am Mikael, appointed by God to be ruler of the east. Depart from that town, for God protects it; but in the last days will come a Lord from heaven who will be despised among a despised people. The fear of Him will bring to nought the charms of the world; kings shall forsake their kingdoms and seek poverty. He will look upon thee in thy grief and deliver thee.'

Then Mirian perceived that what the old and new books King Mirian studies the Scriptures, testified was affirmed by the Book of Nebrot'hi, and he became eager for the faith of Christ. But the invisible enemy warred against him, hindering the confession of Christ, strengthening in his heart the hope in idols and fire. The queen ceased not to entreat him to confess Christ; but for a year from but still wavers. the time of the queen's conversion the king was undecided. St. Nino taught the people unceasingly, and to none did she say who she was nor whence she came, but she called herself a captive.

After this, there was a magician (fire-worshipper), a Persian A Persian prince is sick. prince named Khwarai<sup>3</sup>; he was sick in mind, and beside himself, and nigh unto death. Now this prince was a kinsman of King Mirian<sup>4</sup>, and the king and queen begged St. Nino's help, and the king looked to her, being still undecided. He Mirian and Nana ask Nino's help. said to St. Nino: 'By what god's power dost thou perform these cures? Art thou a daughter of Armaz, or a child of Zaden? Thou art come hither from a strange land, and the Mirian's defence of the old gods. graciousness of the gods is fallen upon thee; they have

<sup>1</sup> Nimrod. Mr. J. Rendel Harris says that in the Convent of Sinai, Cod. Arab. No. 456, there is a piece entitled 'The History of Nebrod Son of Canaan,' a' 'Ιστορία Νεβροδ υιοῦ Χαναάν.

<sup>2</sup> Or rather 'column.' The *Book of Nimrod* is mentioned in Vakhtang Gorgaalan's life.

<sup>3</sup> A.V. 'Khvarasneuli (i.e. a native of Khorasan), Nana's mother's brother.' (*Sneuli* means sick.)

<sup>4</sup> A.V. now agrees in the main with the text followed.

endowed thee with the power of healing, with which thou mayest bring life to a strange land and be renowned for ever. Be as a nurse to our children in this worshipful city<sup>1</sup>, but speak not these strange words of the false faith of the Romans—say nothing of it. For, behold, the great conquering gods of the world<sup>2</sup>, enlighteners and teachers of the Kart'hlians, Armaz and Zaden, searchers out of every hidden thing, with the ancient gods of our fathers, Gatzi and Gaim<sup>3</sup>, are to be trusted in by men. Now if thou wilt cure this prince, I shall enrich thee, and make thee a citizen of Mtzkhet'ha, as a servant of Armaz. Though by the winds and hail that beat upon him he was broken, nevertheless that place is immovable. This Armaz and the god of the Chaldeans, It'hrujan<sup>4</sup>, have ever been enemies; our god caused the sea to flow over the other, who has now done this. Thus is the custom of the conquerors of the world. Now be thou content with this my command.'

Nino  
preaches  
Christ,

St. Nino replied: 'O king, in the name of Christ, by the intercession of His Mother and all His Saints, may the God of heaven and earth, the Creator, send down upon thee His glory and greatness, and may He pour out upon thee from the countless store of His mercies, as from a furnace, one spark of His grace, that thou mayest know and perceive the height<sup>5</sup> of the heavens, the light of the sun, the depth of the sea, the breadth of the earth and its foundation. And mayest thou know, O king, who clothes the heaven with clouds, with winds, and with the voice of thunder, who shakes the earth with His violence, and casts forth the lightning<sup>6</sup>, and sets the mountains on fire with His divine wrath, who causes all the earth to tremble (the great serpent in the seas trembles), even unto the destruction of all the earth, mountains and solid rocks. Know thou all these things; for the unseen God

<sup>1</sup> A.V. 'Be as one of the nurses in this honourable land.'

<sup>2</sup> A.V. 'the givers of fruits, of sun, and of rain.'

<sup>3</sup> A.V. 'Ga.'

<sup>4</sup> A.V. 'It'hrushana.'

<sup>5</sup> 'simaghle,' but A.V. has 'simart'hle,' i.e. justice.

<sup>6</sup> A.V. 'on its path, and sends forth the fires of his wrath.'

in the heavens, He is Lord of all created things, except His Son, who proceeded from Him into the world, appearing in the form of a man ; He fulfilled all for which He came, and ascended into the heights to His Father. The everlasting God is high, and looks down upon the humble, and He knows the proud from afar. O king, His presence is near unto thee ; for in this city is a marvel, the garment of the Son of God ; and they say the mantle of Elijah is also here, and many miracles have been revealed ; and I will cure this thy prince only in the name of my Christ and by the cross of His sufferings, as it also cured Queen Nana of her great sickness.'

And they brought that prince to her, and Queen Nana came also into the garden, and they put him under the cedar. Nino raised her hands to the eastward, and said thrice : 'O devil, I conjure thee to leave him, that Christ, the Son of God, may come in.' And Nino wept, sighing from her soul, and besought the help of God for that man. Her disciples also were there for one day and two nights<sup>1</sup>, and suddenly the evil spirit went forth. The prince, and his family, and his people<sup>2</sup> were converted by Nino, and they glorified the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, now, always, and for evermore. Amen.

*Story told by the woman Sidonia, who was the disciple of St. Nino, who saw and described the miraculous conversion of King Mirian, and how he fell at the feet of Nino to confess Christ. The setting up of the cross, the building of a church, and the miracles done therein.*

One day in summer, in the month of July (20th day), on the Sabbath day<sup>3</sup>, [the king went forth to hunt, towards Mukhran. Unseen, that adversary, the devil, came unto him,

King Mirian resolves to slay the Christians.

<sup>1</sup> A.V. 'one day.'

<sup>2</sup> A.V. omits 'and his people.'

<sup>3</sup> From this point to the words : 'Queen Nana and all the people passed out to meet the king' (on p. 37), there is a hiatus in A.V., filled in from Nat'l. Mtz. and Shio. Mghv. variants.



and implanted in his heart the love of fire and idols, and he thought to massacre all the Christians, in order to do service to his false gods. The king said to four of his counsellors: 'We are not worthy before our gods, for we are idle in their service, and have allowed these Christian sorcerers to preach their faith in our land; and they perform their miracles of sorcery. Now my advice is this: That we destroy all these trusters in the cross, unless they will serve the conquering gods of Kart'hli. Let us see Nana, my wife, if she will repent, and forsake her belief in the cross, and if not, I will forget my love for her, and, with the others, she too shall be destroyed.' His companions agreed with this counsel; for they were zealous in this matter, having desired it from the beginning, but not daring to declare themselves openly.

At the  
chase,  
darkness  
falls on  
him,

The king passed the environs of Mukhran, and went up the high mountain T'hkhot'hi <sup>1</sup>, whence he saw Caspi and Up'hlistzikhe; he was crossing the mountain towards the south when the sun was darkened, and it became like black, eternal night. The darkness seized upon the surroundings, and the men lost one another. In grief and anxiety the king was left alone. He wandered about on the thickly wooded mountains; then, fearful and trembling, he stood in one place, and hope for his safety forsook him. Then he bethought himself and took counsel in his heart: 'Lo, I have called on my gods and have not found comfort. Now, can He whom Nino preaches, the cross and the Crucified, through hope in whom she does miracles, can He have power to deliver me from my grief? I am in a living hell, and I know not if over all the earth this change has taken place, and the light turned to darkness, or only on me. If this grief be for me alone, O God of Nino, lighten this night to me, and show me the world again, and I will confess Thy name. I will erect a wooden cross and worship it, and set up a house to pray in, and obey Nino and the faith of the Romans.'

he prays  
to God

and is  
delivered.

When he had spoken thus, it became light, and the sun

<sup>1</sup> Thirteen miles west of Mukhran. A small church still marks the spot.

shone forth in his glory. Then the king dismounted from his horse, and, standing in that place, stretched out his hands towards the eastern heavens, and said: 'Thou art a God above all gods, a Lord above all lords, Thou God of whom Nino tells, and Thy name is to be praised by all creatures under the heavens and upon the earth; for Thou hast delivered me from my woe and lightened my darkness. Behold, I know that Thou desirest my deliverance, and I rejoice, O blessed Lord, to come near Thee. In this place will I set up a wooden cross, by which they may glorify Thy name, and may remember this miraculous deed for ever.' So he took note of the place, and then departed. Now the scattered people saw that light, and assembled; and the king cried out: 'Give the glory to Nino's God, for He is God for ever, and to Him only is glory fitting for ever<sup>1</sup>.']

Queen Nana and all the people passed out to meet the king, for they had heard first that he had perished and then that he was returning in peace. They met him at Kindzara and Ghart'ha<sup>2</sup>. And St. Nino was in her bramble bush praying at that hour, as was her custom at eventide, and we with her were fifty souls. And when the king came, the town seemed to shake. The king cried with a loud voice: 'Where is that stranger woman, who is our mother, and whose God is my Deliverer?' When he heard that she was in the bush praying, he went towards her with all his army, dismounted, and said to Nino: 'Now am I become worthy to call upon the name of thy God and my Deliverer.' So St. Nino taught him, and bade him worship towards the east and confess Christ the Son of God. There was trembling and weeping among all the people when they saw the king and queen in tears<sup>3</sup>.

The next day King Mirian sent ambassadors to Greece, to

<sup>1</sup> End of hiatus in A.V.

<sup>2</sup> Kindzara is a few miles north of Mtskheta, on the river Narecavi, near its junction with the Aragva. Ghart'ha is in the same district.

<sup>3</sup> A.V. adds: 'for joy, and because of the wonderful miracle which had taken place.'

His embassy to Constantinople.

King Constantine, [<sup>1</sup>and a letter from Nino to Queen Elene telling of all the miracles performed by Christ, which had been done in Mtzkhet'ha to King Mirian, and entreating them to send priests quickly to baptize them]. And St. Nino and her disciples preached to the people day and night unceasingly, and showed them the true way to the kingdom of heaven.

*Words of the same (Sidonia) concerning the building of the church<sup>2</sup>.*

Mirian begins to build a church.

The people quickly adopted Christianity. Before the priests came, the king said to St. Nino: 'I will hasten to build a house of God. Where shall it be built?' Nino said: 'Wherever the prince<sup>3</sup> wishes.' The king replied: 'I like this thy bush, and there would it please me. But if it may not be there, let it be in the royal garden by the tall cedar among fruitful branches and sweet-scented flowers [<sup>4</sup>according to the vision which thou didst see, of black-feathered birds bathing in the waters, so that they became dazzlingly white, and, seating themselves in the trees, poured forth their sweet voices]. Truly this transitory garden will bring us to eternal life. There shall we build a house of God<sup>5</sup> for prayer, before the coming of the priests from Greece.'

The central pillar cannot be moved.

Quickly he took wood, and instructed the carpenters. And they cut down the cedar, and from it prepared<sup>6</sup> seven pillars for the church. When they had built the wooden wall, they set up the pillars one by one. The biggest pillar, which was wonderful to look upon, was ready to be placed in the midst of the church, but they could not raise it. The king was informed of the miracle, how they could not move the column

<sup>1</sup> A.V. omits the passage in brackets.

<sup>2</sup> A.V. does not make this a separate chapter.

<sup>3</sup> A.V. 'king.'

<sup>4</sup> A.V. omits this passage about Nino's vision.

<sup>5</sup> A.V. adds: 'which will stand for ever.'

<sup>6</sup> A.V. 'a pillar, and on its roots they laid the foundation of the church.'

into its place. Then the king came with many people, and they used very powerful machines, and great force, and all the people tried by many means to raise it, but they could not. The king and all the people were astonished, and said : ' What can this be ? ' And when evening came, the king went home very sad.

St. Nino and twelve women of her disciples tarried by the pillar and wept. And at midnight those two mountains—Armaz and Zaden—fell, as if they had been broken off, and they stopped the rivers. The Mtevari (Kura) rushed down and carried away the town, and there was a terrible sound of weeping and lamentation. The Aragva also descended upon the fortress, and there were fearful noises. The women were afraid and fled, but the blessed Nino cried aloud : ' Fear not, my sisters ; the mountains stand there, and all the people are asleep. This destruction of the mountains is but a symbol, for the mountains of paganism are cast down in Kart'hli, and the rivers which are stopped are the blood of the children sacrificed to their idols<sup>1</sup>, which now will cease. The voice of lamentation is that of many devils, mourning because they are driven from their places by the power from on high and by the Cross of Christ. Turn back, therefore, and pray to God.' And suddenly the sounds ceased, and there was nothing.

Vision of  
the fall of  
Mounts  
Armaz and  
Zaden.

St. Nino arose and stretched forth her hands and prayed to God, saying : ' May this matter not be hindered, which the king is engaged upon.' Again, before the cock crew, a powerful army appeared with terrible noise at the three gates of the city. They broke the gates in pieces, and the town was filled with Persian soldiers. There arose horror-inspiring cries and shrieks, and there was slaughter and shedding of blood everywhere. There was great wailing, and clashing of swords, and at this fearful sight our bodies became faint and our souls lost courage ; and there was much weeping for our kinsfolk. Suddenly there was heard a loud cry : ' Khuara, king of the Persians, and Khuarankhuasra<sup>2</sup>, king of kings,

Vision of  
Persian  
invasion of  
Mtzkhet'-  
ha.

<sup>1</sup> A.V. ' to their evil spirits.'

<sup>2</sup> A.V. ' Khuarankhuara.'

command that every Jew be given to the edge of the sword.' When I heard this and understood it, I and the ten<sup>1</sup> who were with me were filled with doubts, and the swordsmen were approaching nearer, and round about us they killed and slew. Then a mighty voice was heard, saying: 'King Mirian has been captured.' Our saving guide looked round and said: 'I know what that cry is which now causes so much grief. Let us thank God. This is a sign of their destruction, of the life of Kart'hli and the glory of this place.' Our wise leader consoled us, she was in truth our leader and blessed apostle.

She (Nino) turned to one of the army, and said: 'Where are the kings Khuara and Khuarankhuasra? Yesterday ye came forth from Sabastan; how are ye arrived so quickly? Ye are a great host and mighty; why have ye destroyed this city and given it to the sword? Go with the winds and breezes to the mountains and rocks of the North, for behold He cometh from whom ye flee.' She stretched forth her hands and made the sign of the cross, and suddenly it all became invisible, and there was a great calm. The women<sup>2</sup> blessed Nino and glorified God.

The pillar  
miracu-  
lously  
fixed.

When dawn was drawing nigh, the women fell asleep, but I, Sidonia, was awake, and she stood with upraised hands. Behold, a youth stood there, adorned in brilliant light, shrouded in fire; and he spoke some words. She fell on her face, and the youth put his hand to the column and raised it, and it stood up. And I, Sidonia, was astonished, and said: 'O queen, what is this?' She answered: 'Bend thy head to the earth'; and she began to weep. A little while afterwards, she and I arose and went from that place. And the women who were without also saw the column<sup>3</sup>. And it was as if fire came down; and it (the column) approached its own place, and stood twelve cubits away from the earth, and gently, by

<sup>1</sup> † Probably the meaning is that some Judas had meantime deserted St Nino.

<sup>2</sup> A.V. 'sisters.'

<sup>3</sup> A.V. 'And the women were outside, and behold I saw the column.'

degrees, settled above the place cut out for it at the root of the cedar.

At daylight the king arose, heavy hearted with care, looked at the garden and the newly commenced church of which he thought so much. He saw a light, like a flash of lightning, rising to heaven from his garden. He began to run, and quickly came there, and all the multitude of his household and all the people of the town came, for they too saw the miracle. The column, shining with light, came down into its place, as if from heaven, and stood firm in its place, untouched by the hands of man. Happy the time when this happened! The city of Mtskheta was filled with fear and joy, and shed rivers of tears. The king and princes and all the people with deep sighs glorified God, and blessed St. Nino, and great miracles were done that day.

<sup>1</sup>First there came a Jew, blind from his birth. He approached the divinely raised column and immediately received his sight, and glorified God.

Miracles  
performed  
at the  
pillar.

Then there was Amzaspani<sup>2</sup>, a youth of the court, who had been bedridden for eight years. His mother brought him in faith, and placed his couch before the pillar of light, entreating Nino: 'Look upon this my son who is nigh unto death; for I know that the God whom thou servest and preachest unto us is God.' Nino touched the column, and placed her hand upon the lad, saying: 'Dost thou believe in Jesus Christ, the Son of God, come in the flesh to give life to all the world<sup>3</sup>? . . . Be cured through Him, and praise Him whose power heals thee.' Straightway the youth arose whole, and great fear seized the king and all the people. All kinds of sick came and were healed, until the king put a covering of wood round the column and hid it from sight, and even then the people touched the covering and were cured. The king

Healing of  
Amzas-  
pani.

<sup>1</sup> A.V. begins a new chapter.

<sup>2</sup> A.V. does not give the youth's name.

<sup>3</sup> A.V. inserts: 'And the youth replied: "Yes, queen, I believe in Jesus Christ, the Saviour of creatures." Then said Nino: '.

quickly set about the completion of the church in the royal garden.

Constantine's embassy to Mirian.

<sup>1</sup>When King Mirian's ambassadors arrived before King Constantine and told him what had happened, the king and his mother, Queen Elene, were filled with gladness: first, because the grace of God was shining into all places, and by their hands all Kart'hli would be baptized; and then they rejoiced because they believed that the Persians would be destroyed by King Mirian; and they received them with love. They praised and thanked God, and sent the true priest Ioane the bishop, and with him two priests and three deacons. King Constantine wrote a letter of prayer and blessing to Mirian, thanking God, and sent him a cross, an icon of the Saviour, and many gifts. Queen Elene wrote a letter of praise and comfort to Nino. The bishop, priests, and ambassadors arrived at Mtskhetha. The king and all the people were filled with joy, for they longed to be baptized. Then Mirian immediately sent forth a command that all the *eristhavs* (governors of provinces), *spasalars* (generals), and all the persons in his kingdom should be called before him; and they all came in great haste to the town.

Mirian and his people baptized.

The king was baptized under the hand of St. Nino, and, afterwards, the queen and their children under the hands of the priests and deacons. They blessed the river Mtsvari (Kura), and the bishop prepared a place near the gate of the bridge of the Magicians, where was the house of Elioz the priest, and there the illustrious people were baptized, and they called that spot Mt'havart'h Sanat'hlo (the place of baptism of the princes). Lower down on the same river, in two places, the two priests and the deacons baptized the people. The people struggled one with another; quickly they entreated the monks, each to be first baptized, so strong was their desire to be baptized, for they had heard the preach-

<sup>1</sup> A.V. omits to the end of the chapter, only saying: 'Then came the ambassadors from Greece with the chief of the priests, priests and deacons, and began to baptize, as is written above.'

ing of Nino, how she had said: 'None who are not baptized will find that light eternal.' Therefore they were all in great haste to be baptized. So they all received baptism, and the majority in Kart'hli, except the M'thiulians (mountaineers) of Caucasus; the light was shed upon them, but they lay obstinately in darkness for some time. There were the Jews of Mtzkhet'ha, also, who were not baptized, except the Cabrabians<sup>1</sup>, of whom were baptized fifty souls, and they became true Christians; for this they became great before the king, and he gave them a village which they call *Tzikhe didi* (the great stronghold). P'heroz, the son-in-law of King Mirian, did not receive baptism, nor his people, but they were obedient to King Mirian's temporal power.

Then King Mirian sent Bishop Ioane, and men of power with him, to King Constantine, and begged for a piece of the wood of life which at that time had appeared to the servant and lover of Christ, Queen Elene. He also asked that many priests might be sent into all the towns and places to baptize the people, so that soon every soul in Kart'hli might be baptized; he also asked for masons to build churches. When they arrived before the Emperor Constantine, he gave them gladly of the wood of life: those beams to which the feet of the Lord were nailed, and the nails for the hands. He sent also priests and many masons.

King Constantine built in his kingdom a holy church, a holy temple, and gave very great treasure to Bishop Ioane, and commanded that wherever he first came in Kart'hli, there they should build churches in his name, that this gift might be possessed in the bounds of Kart'hli. The bishop went away, and with him the ambassadors. When they arrived at the place which is called Erushet'hi<sup>2</sup>, the car-

<sup>1</sup> Kart'hl. Tzkh. 'Barabians.' Said to be descendants of Barabbas.

<sup>2</sup> Erushet'hi was a district, with a river of the same name, at the head waters of the Kura. The village or fortress of Erushet'hi is close to Nakalakevi, 'où était une ville, aujourd'hui simple bourg. Là fut bâtie une belle église à coupole, par un envoyé du grand Constantin, aux frais de l'empereur.' Wakhoucht, *Descr. géogr.* p. 105; Bergé and Bakradze, *Zapiski*, p. 110; *Hist.*



penters stopped there to build the church; they put the treasure there, and the nails by which the Lord's hands were pierced. Then they went on and came to Manglis<sup>1</sup> and began to build a church, and there they placed the beams to which the Lord's feet were nailed. And King Mirian was displeased that they did not come first to the royal city, but had begun to build churches in other towns and places, and had left the relics there. But St. Nino came to him and said: 'O king, be not angry; for wherever they go they spread abroad the name of God; and in this city is there not the glorious garment of the Lord?'

The king took Abiat'har and many Jews with him, and inquired of them concerning the tunic; and they told him all that which is written above. Then King Mirian raised his hand, and said: 'Blessed art Thou, O Jesus, Son of the living God; for from the beginning Thou didst desire to deliver us from the devil and the dark place. Therefore was Thy holy garment brought from Thy holy city Jerusalem by those Hebrews, deniers of Thy divinity, and of a race unknown to us.'

Building  
of the  
bishop's  
church in  
Mtzkhet-  
ha.

The king and all the city went forward firmly in Christianity. The carpenters began to build a church on the outskirts of the city, on the dwelling of St. Nino, where the bramble was, and where now is the bishop's church. And St. Nino said: 'Blessed is our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Father of our Lord, who hath sent down His holy Word from the high heavens, even from His mighty throne, that He might descend to the base earth, born indeed of the seed of David, of a virgin pure and holy; for it was agreeable to Him to give life to us. He

*de la Géorgie*, t. i. pp. 121, 195. At Cumurdo, still nearer the source of the Kura, is another church said to have been built by Constantine's envoys. Bergé and Bakradze, *Zap.* p. 85; Wakhoucht, pp. 99, 101, 103; Brosset, *Voy. archéol.* II Rapp. p. 166, IV Rapp. p. 6.

<sup>1</sup> Manglis church is about twenty-five miles west of Tiflis. *Vide* Bergé and Bakradze, p. 93; Wakhoucht, *Descr. géogr.* p. 171.—'Cette église n'a jamais été ruinée. Au midi de la voûte est représenté Mahomet sur un lion; on dit que c'est pour cela que les musulmans l'ont respectée.'

hath enlightened all beneath the heavens, so that they might become believers. He was born as man, He, the Light of all, the Image of God; and, as a servant of the law, He was baptized with water and with the Spirit; He was crucified and buried, and rose the third day, ascended into heaven unto His Father, and again He cometh with glory. Unto whom is fitting all glory, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, now, always, and for ever.'

*The Raising of the Honourable Cross<sup>1</sup>.*

When the king and queen, with their children and all the people, were baptized, there stood, on the top of an inaccessible rock, a tree, exceedingly beautiful, and of a sweet smell. It was a wonder-working tree, for beasts wounded by arrows came to it, and when they ate of its leaves, or of the seed fallen to the ground, they were healed, even if they came wounded unto death. A miraculous tree

This seemed a great miracle to these sometime pagans, and they told Bishop Ioane about the tree. The bishop said: 'Lo! in truth, from the beginning this land hath been set apart by God for His service. This tree has been planted by God for this present time, for even now has the grace of God shone forth on Kart'hli, and from this tree shall be made the worshipful cross which all the multitudes of Kart'hli shall worship.' And Rev, the king's son, and the bishop, and many of the people went and cut down the tree, is cut down, and took it, with its branches, and ten times ten men carried it, covered with its branches and leaves, into the town. The people gathered together to see it, because of its greenness and leafiness in the days of summer<sup>2</sup> when every other tree was dry. Its leaves had not fallen, and it was pleasant to the

<sup>1</sup> A.V. adds 'written by Jacob' (the priest). In A.V. Jacob writes in the first person.

<sup>2</sup> All the other MSS. except Kart'hl. Tzkh. read 'winter,' which the context shows to be correct.

and made  
into  
crosses.

A fiery  
cross and  
starry  
crown  
appear.

smell and fair to look upon. They set the tree up on its root, at the southern door of the church, where the breezes wafted abroad its fragrant odour and opened the leaves; the sight of it was beautiful, as we are told that the tree planted in Eden was fair. It was felled on the twenty-fifth of March, on a Friday, and the tree stood there thirty-seven days, and its leaves did not change colour; it was as if it stood from the root to the topmost branch in a stream, until all the trees of the forest were clad in foliage, and the fruit trees were in bloom. Then on the first of May they made the (three) crosses, and on the seventh they raised them, under the protection<sup>1</sup> of the king, with rejoicing, and by the will of all the people of the city, who were in the church.

Now all the people of the city saw in all those days that a fiery cross came down from heaven upon it; round about was, as it were, a crown of stars, and the cross of fire rested upon the church until daylight; and when daylight came, two of the stars separated from the others—one went to the east and one to the west, and the brightest went gently towards the place, near the stream, beyond Aragva, and stood on that rocky hill where was the rivulet which had sprung from the tears of St. Nino<sup>2</sup>, and thence it mounted to heaven.

Thus all the people many times saw God's salvation, and they began to inquire of the blessed Nino, saying: 'What meaneth this, that shining stars have come forth, and one is gone to the east, even to the mountains of Cakhet'hi, and the other to the west, to the neighbourhood of this city<sup>3</sup>?' St. Nino answered: 'When it is seen where they shine on those mountains, there let them erect two crosses to Christ.' The king did thus, and they watched the highest mountains<sup>4</sup> one after the other. This happened upon a Friday, and on Saturday at dawn the same miracle happened as before.

<sup>1</sup> 'didebit'ha,' to the glory, is perhaps a mistake for 'dadebit'ha,' which is found in MSS., but cf. p. 47, 'to the glory of the king.'

<sup>2</sup> The brook is called Dzudzus Tsqaro, and there is a small church there.

<sup>3</sup> A.V. 'to the bounds of thy kingdom.'

<sup>4</sup> A.V. 'continually for ten days.'

Next day they went to the west, where they stood on the mountain of Kvabth'a Thavi (Head of Caves). They told the king how that star came forth from the others, rose, and stood over one spot on Mount Thkhot'hi<sup>1</sup>, in the pass of Caspi, and then became quite invisible. In the same manner, those sent to the Cakhet'hian Mountains returned and told how they had seen the star move thither, and stand above the village of Budi, in the region of Cakhet'hi<sup>2</sup>.

St. Nino commanded them, saying: 'Take two of these crosses, and raise one in Thkhot'hi, where God showed His power, and give one to Salome, the handmaiden of Christ, to be erected in the town of Ujarma<sup>3</sup>. As for the village of Budi in Cakhet'hi, it should not be preferred before the royal city, for there are many people. Budi also shall see the grace of God.' And they did even as the queen<sup>4</sup> commanded: they raised the wonder-working, holy cross by human hands in Mtzkhet'ha, and they went below that hillock to the stream, where they passed the night praying to God, and the blessed Nino mingled her tears with the brook, and there were cures and great miracles performed.

Crosses are raised in Thkhot'hi and Ujarma.

Next day she and the king, queen, and princes, and a great multitude of people, went up on to the rock and knelt on those stones and wept<sup>5</sup>, until the mountains re-echoed with their voices. Then St. Nino laid her hand on a stone, and said to the bishop: 'Come, for it befits thee to bless this stone.' And he did so, and there they raised the cross to the glory of the king. The countless multitude bent and worshipped the cross, and confessed the Crucified to be the true Son of the living God, and believed in the great triune God. And the great<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A.V. gives the name of the spot as Qrgvi.

<sup>2</sup> Bodbe in Cakhet'hi, near the town of Kisiq (Signakh), also spelt Bodi and Budi.

<sup>3</sup> Ujarma, formerly a fortified city, residence of the Cakhet'hian kings, now a village, on the river Iora in Cakhet'hi, said to have been built by Saurmag (237-162 B.C.).

<sup>4</sup> A.V. 'St. Nino'; the saint is often addressed as Queen (v. infra).

<sup>5</sup> A.V. 'men, women, and children.' <sup>6</sup> *didni*, but in A.V. *dedani*—women.

chiefs did not go away from the holy church, the pillar of light and the life-giving cross, for they saw there wonderful miracles and unceasing cures<sup>1</sup>. And on Easter Sunday, King

<sup>1</sup> A. V. adds here : 'Then St. Nino left the city of Mtzkhet'ha, and went to the mountaineers, to carry the gospel to men in the form of wild beasts, and to cast down their idols. But Abiat'har, the Jewish priest, was left here—he who was a second Paul, who ceaselessly, day and night, preached Christ and His glory, until the flight of the Jews.'

A. V. then begins a new chapter : '*The Raising of the Honourable Cross in Mtzkhet'ha and the second vision.*

'And when the whole land of Kart'hli was converted to Christianity, the priests who had come from Greece took counsel about the raising of the sign of the cross; and they said to King Mirian: "It is fitting to erect the divine sign of the cross." And this advice seemed good to the king and to all the people, and joyfully they received the word and teaching of the priests. King Mirian ordered wood for the cross. Carpenters came and cut down a sweet-smelling tree, and the king commanded the cross to be made. The priests taught them the form of the cross; and when it was made, the carpenters came and told King Mirian: "We made it according to what the priests told us." The king arose joyfully, and all the people saw the form of the cross, and they wondered greatly, and glorified God.

'At that time the king bethought himself and remembered how that day, when it became dark on the mountain, he saw the light of great brilliancy in the form of a cross. Then he told the priests and all the people of the sight, and how the sign of the cross dispelled the darkness before his eyes. When the people heard the king's story, more and more firmly they believed on Jesus Christ and in the sign of His cross, and all gladly, of one accord, worshipped it and glorified God. Then the king counselled all the people that they should erect the form of the cross in several places, and commanded that each should be where it seemed right, and not where they chose. At that time King Mirian prayed, saying: "O Lord Jesus Christ, in whom we believe through this captive, and have been taught by these Thy priests—who didst humble Thyself, and in Thy humility didst clothe Thyself in the image of slaves, who didst descend from the blessed bosom of the Father, who didst leave for our sake the throne, majesty, and power, and entered the womb of a Holy Virgin, and then wert crucified by Pontius (*Pontoveli*) Pilate, buried in the heart of the earth, and on the third day didst rise, fulfilling all that was spoken of by the prophets, ascendedst into heaven, and sittest at the right hand of the Father, and again art to come to judge the quick and the dead—Thou hast left us the sign of Thy cross, for the destruction of the unseen machinations of the enemy; Thou hast miraculously brought us into Thy fear that we might escape from the devil, by whom we were enchained to our ruin. But now, O God, O God our Saviour, vouchsafe to show the place in which the sign of Thy cross shall be set up, that it may be manifest to those who hate us, and that they may be ashamed; for Thou, O Lord, art our helper and our consolation." And at twilight that night,

Mirian and all Mtzkhet'ha offered sacrifice. That day they instituted the service of the<sup>1</sup> cross at Easter, which all Kart'hli observes unto this day.

And some time afterwards, after Pentecost, on a Wednesday, they saw a miracle, very wonderful: lo! a pillar of light, in the form of a cross, stood upon the cross<sup>2</sup>, and twelve stars in a crown round about; and the cross on the hill gave forth a sweet perfume, and all saw the wonder. Many heathens were converted and baptized that day<sup>3</sup>, and the Christians were strengthened in their faith, and glorified God.

Appearance of a cross of light and twelve stars.

They saw another wonder of the cross: how a fire stood upon it, seven<sup>4</sup> times brighter than the sun<sup>5</sup>. It rested there like a spark from a furnace, and the angels of God ascended and descended. And the hill on which stood the cross<sup>6</sup> shook very much, and when the miracle ceased the trembling ceased. When the people saw that miracle they were all greatly astonished, and more and more they glorified God. These wonders were performed from year to year, and all the people

Fire rests on the cross at Mtzkhet'ha.

the angel of the Lord stood, in a vision, before King Mirian, and showed him a hill on the river Aragva, near Mtzkhet'ha, and said to him: "This is the place chosen by God; there shall ye raise the sign of the cross." And at dawn, King Mirian told the priests of his vision of the angel, and his words, and the hill, which he showed him. When they heard of the vision and saw the place, the hill pleased all the people. With rejoicing and songs of praise, all the chiefs took the cross, with one accord, and set it up on the hill near Mtzkhet'ha, towards the east, on Easter Sunday. And when they raised the sign of the cross in the land of Kart'hli, suddenly all the idols in the boundaries of the country were cast down and broken, and the altars destroyed. When they saw this wondrous deed and miracle which had been performed by the power of the sign of the cross, they were yet more astonished, and glorified God, and worshipped the honourable cross gladly.'

<sup>1</sup> A. V. 'victorious.'

<sup>2</sup> A. V. 'and twelve angels encircled it as a crown.'

<sup>3</sup> A. V. 'and they built churches.'

<sup>4</sup> A. V. 'three.'

<sup>5</sup> A. V. 'and like a flame it burned on the head of the cross.'

<sup>6</sup> A. V. 'rejoiced greatly, and all the earth shook; and from mountains, hills, and ravines a sweet-smelling mist arose to heaven, and the rocks crumbled away. And the strong perfume spread over all the land . . . and loud voices were heard, and all the people, perceiving the sound of the songs, were afraid, and marvelled much. With fear and trembling they worshipped the honourable cross, and with great rejoicing glorified God.'

saw them with fear and trembling, and came to worship devoutly.

Healing of  
Rev's son,

In those days, Rev<sup>1</sup>, the king's son, had a little son who was sick, and nigh unto death; and it was his only child. He took him and placed him before the holy cross, and with tears entreated it, saying: 'If thou wilt give me this my child alive, I will build a canopy for thee to dwell in.' And straightway, in that place, his child was healed, and he led him away sound and restored to life. Then he came to fulfil his vow; and with great joy and zeal Rev, the king's son<sup>2</sup>, raised the canopy, and from year to year he came and fulfilled his promise of sacrifice; and in consequence of this, sick folk came all the more, and they were cured, and with gladness they glorified the holy cross of Christ.

and other  
miracles  
performed  
at the  
cross of  
Mtzkhet'-  
ha.

There was a certain young man who was blind in both eyes. He sat<sup>3</sup> down before the cross of Christ, and after seven days he received his sight, and glorified the precious cross.

Then there was a woman always afflicted by evil spirits, which had taken away her mind and strength for eight years; and she rent her clothes. They brought her and laid her before the cross, and after twelve days she was cured, and walked away glorifying God and worshipping the holy cross.

Again, there was a little boy, and he suddenly fell down dead<sup>4</sup>. His mother took him and put his dead<sup>4</sup> body before the cross. From morning until eventide she prayed weeping before the cross. Others came unto her and said: 'Take him away, woman, and bury him, for he is dead; grieve no more.' She did not lose hope, but wept more and more piteously, and prayed. When evening came, the child was restored to life, and opened his eyes, and after seven<sup>5</sup> days his mother led him home cured and revived, and glorified God.

When they saw the miraculous healing power of the holy cross, many childless people came and begged that they might have children, and the request of many was granted;

<sup>1</sup> A.V. 'a God-fearing man.'

<sup>2</sup> A.V. 'Rev's son.'

<sup>3</sup> A.V. 'fell.'

<sup>4</sup> A.V. 'exhausted.'

<sup>5</sup> A.V. 'three.'

and they offered sacrifice and thanks. And not only those who came thither received healing, but those who from afar entreated the aid of the holy cross also received favour immediately<sup>1</sup>. And it helped those who were in battle, so that they overcame their foes, and they came quickly to offer thanks.

Many pagans in distress were cured by the cross, and many were baptized, and with gladness glorified God; many kinds of diseases were healed by the power of the honourable cross, many with divers sufferings came to beg healing and were at once cured there, even unto this day<sup>2</sup>, and they glorified the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, to whom is glory now, always, and for ever.

*The Letter which was written by the Patriarch of Rome and the King of the Branji to Nino, to the King, and to all the Kart'hlian folk.*

In those days there came a letter from the holy Patriarch of Rome to Nino, to the king, and to all the Kart'hlian folk. He sent a Branj deacon to bring his praise and blessing, and to entreat of the blessed Nino her prayers and grace. The deacon brought also a letter from the king of the Branji to Nino, saying, that as her father had baptized all the Branji, a deed known to all in Jerusalem and Constantinople, so she had enlightened all Kart'hli with the sun of righteousness. Therefore he had written this welcome letter, as he had learnt of the wonders performed among them, and of the column, and the bramble bush and its power of healing. The deacon of the Branji saw and heard of the miracles of the pillar, which had been done in Mtzkhet'ha, and glorified God. He took with him letters, and departed.

<sup>1</sup> A.V. 'If any one called upon the holy cross of Mtzkhet'ha in the stress of battle, the cross immediately became his helper against his enemies.'

<sup>2</sup> A.V. 'These have been described for the glory of God and of the honourable cross, and that we may all worship the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, now and for evermore. Amen.'



Mirian's  
missionary  
zeal.

Then the king said to St. Nino and the bishop: 'I will convert the Mt'hiulians at the edge of the sword, and make my son-in-law, P'heroz, a servant of God and a worshipper of the honourable cross.' Nino answered: 'It is not commanded by God to raise the sword, but to show the way of truth by the gospel, and by the honourable cross which leadeth unto everlasting life. May God's grace enlighten the darkness of their hearts.' And St. Nino (and Bishop Ioane)<sup>1</sup> departed. And the king took with him an *erist'hav* (governor of province), and they came to Tsubeni<sup>2</sup>, and summoned the Mt'hiulians<sup>3</sup>, those men in the shape of wild beasts, the Dchart'halians<sup>4</sup>, P'hkhovians<sup>5</sup>, Gudamaqrians<sup>6</sup>, and they preached the Gospel of Christian truth unto them, leading to eternal life, but they did not wish to be baptized; then the king's *erist'hav* turned the sword upon them, and forcibly cast down the idols. They turned away from that place and went to Zhalet'hi<sup>7</sup>, and preached to the Ertso T'hianet'hians<sup>8</sup>, who received the gospel and were baptized. But the P'hkhovians left their land, and came into T'hushet'hi<sup>9</sup>, and there were other mountaineers who were not converted. The king laid heavy taxes on those who did not wish to be baptized; therefore they banded themselves together and wandered about. Some of them at last were converted by St. Abibos Necreseli<sup>10</sup>, the bishop, and some of them have remained heathens until this day.

<sup>1</sup> A.V. omits 'and Bishop Ioane.'

<sup>2</sup> Kart'hl. Tzkh. 'Tsorbani' (†). The place referred to is probably Tsobeni, about seven miles east of the Aragva and fifteen miles above Mtkkhet'ha.

<sup>3</sup> Mt'hiulet'hi (i.e. 'the highlands') is a district above the junction of the Gudamaqari and Aragva.

<sup>4</sup> Dchart'hali, river and mountain west of the Aragva, south of Mt'hiulet'hi.

<sup>5</sup> Ancient name of the P'hshavs and Khevsurs, who dwell on the White Aragva, east of Mt'hiulet'hi and Gudamaqari and north of T'hianet'hi.

<sup>6</sup> At the source of the Black Aragva.

<sup>7</sup> Zhalet'hi, or Zhaliet'hi, on the river Iori in T'hianet'hi.

<sup>8</sup> i.e. Lesser T'hianet'hi, south of T'hianet'hi and east of Saguramo.

<sup>9</sup> To the extreme north of Cakhet'hi.

<sup>10</sup> Abibos, bishop of Necresi, was one of the Syrian Fathers, who came to Georgia about the middle of the sixth century.

Then St. Nino went into Cakhet'hi, and rested in Cat-saret'hi and converted the people. Afterwards she passed into the village of Kwel, and called together the Cakhet'hian princes. They had not heard of the faith of Christ and the baptism of the king; with joy they received her teaching, and were converted and baptized by Jacob the priest. Thence she went to Bodi, and there came unto her Suji<sup>1</sup>, the Queen of Cakhet'hi, and with her a great multitude of chiefs, warriors, and women-slaves. She told them of the secret (holy sacrament) of Christ, and with sweet words taught them the true faith. She related the miracles which had happened through the column of fire, of which they had not heard before. With joy they received the teaching of St. Nino, and the queen was baptized with all her chiefs and handmaidens.

When the blessed Nino had thus fulfilled her work and preaching, she knew that the time when her spirit would pass from her body was drawing nigh. She wrote a letter to King Mirian, and gave it to the Cakhet'hian queen Suji. She wrote thus:

'To the servant of Jesus Christ, the faithful believer in the Holy Trinity, the ally of holy kings, King Mirian.—May God rain down the dew of His grace from above upon thee and all the palace, and on the camp of thy people, and may the cross of Christ and the mediation of His most holy Mother guard you. Lo, I have passed through many lands, and they have received the gospel of Christ, and been turned from their sins and baptized, and do worship God the Creator. Now shouldst thou be joyful, for in thy days God has looked down upon His creatures, and the light of His wisdom has shone forth upon them. Hold fast unto the true faith, that with Him thou mayest reign for ever in the kingdom of heaven. My days upon earth are fulfilled, and I am passing from life to go the way of my fathers. Worthy of mention among the holy ones of God is Queen Suji, for she became a believer in the true Christ, and cast down the idols and con-

<sup>1</sup> A.V. does not mention Suji.

verted the people to the service of God, and called her brother and her daughter, also Artereon, a chieftain, and taught them the true faith, and all in Budi have been baptized in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Now send unto me the holy chief of the fathers, that he may give me provision for my soul's eternal journey, for my time is nigh.'

Queen Suji  
sets out  
with the  
letter and  
arrives at  
Mtzkhet'-  
ha,

Queen Suji took Nino's letter, and, moved by desire to do homage to the life-giving pillar, set out in haste. All that long journey she walked barefooted, and her tears watered the ground. When they arrived opposite the pillar of life, they saw that the river Aragva had increased greatly, and none of the warriors could cross; when they descended, they were turned back, hindered by the impetuosity of the volume of water. But as Peter walked to the Lord upon the water, so was it with that woman, full of faith in Christ, and desire for the life-giving cross, and with confidence like a grain of mustard seed. She crossed herself and leaped down, as upon a steed. On the other side was Bishop Ioane, with all the people, and when she entered the stream the waters fled back and she passed dry-footed. The king and the chief bishop met her in fear and wonder, and they went into the church to the pillar of life, and prayed with fervent tears. She offered, as a sacrifice, herself, her children, and all her servants, and the little town of Bart'hiani, and the great village of Budi; and she rejoiced in spirit. Then Queen Suji drew forth the letter of the blessed Nino and gave it to the king, and he read it aloud, weeping bitterly.

miracu-  
lously  
crosses the  
Aragva.

Mirian  
and others  
go to  
Bodbe to  
St. Nino's  
deathbed.

They sent Bishop Ioane to bring her, but St. Nino did not choose to come. So the king, Queen Nana, and many of the people set out and came to her. The people assembled in innumerable multitudes, and they saw the face of Nino, which was like that of an angel from heaven. They tore the hem of her garment and took it and kissed it with faith; and all those seated around passionately prayed, with tears pouring from their eyes because of the departure of

their leader and benefactress and the healer of the sick. Salome Ujarmoeli (i.e. of Ujarma) and Peruzhavri Sivneli (i.e. of Sion) and the *erist'havs* (governors) and *mt'havars* (chiefs, lords) inquired of her, saying: 'Who art thou, whence art thou, and wherefore didst thou come into this land to give us life? Where wert thou brought up, O queen? Tell us of thy life, for thou hast spoken of captivity, O divine freer of captives. Thou hast taught us concerning the prophets who came before the Son of God, and then of the twelve apostles, but God has sent none to us save thee, and all that thou sayest of thyself is that thou art a captive or a stranger.'

Then Nino began to speak, and said: 'Daughters of the faith<sup>1</sup>, queens near to my heart, ye see the faith and love which those first women bare to Christ, and yet ye wish to know of my life, the life of a poor handmaiden! But I shall tell you; for now my days are fulfilled, and I am about to fall asleep for ever in the sleep of my mother. Bring writing materials that ye may write down my poor, unworthy life, so that your children may hear of your faith, and how I was received by you, and the divine miracles which ye have seen.' Salome Ujarmoeli and Peruzhavri Sivneli quickly brought writing materials, and she told them all her pure and blessed life as we have written it above, and they wrote it down. She entreated the king that the priest Jacob might be bishop after Ioane.

St. Nino  
tells the  
story of  
her life.

Bishop Ioane offered sacrifice to the Lord, and St. Nino partook of the body and blood of Christ which was to serve her for the journey to eternity. Then she gave her soul into the hands of God, and passed into everlasting righteousness (January 14). Thus, adorned with apostolic grace, shining in her pure life, beautiful by her many labours, bearing the gift of many works, she presented herself before the Holy Trinity, taking, as an offering, many peoples, and the sufferings borne in this world. She ascended to heaven in the

Death of  
St. Nino.

<sup>1</sup> A.V. 'near to God, my queens.'

twenty-fifth year from her entry into Georgia, three hundred and thirty-eight years from the death of Christ, and from the beginning of the world five thousand seven hundred and thirty-eight.

Her burial  
at Bodbe.

The inhabitants of Mtskheta and Ujarma and all Kart'li were deeply moved by her death, and a great multitude of people came, and crowded together to touch the skirt of her garment. By force, the king put an end to the uproar, and commanded that her body should be taken away and interred near the pillar of life. When they were about to lift her body, their hands became powerless and<sup>1</sup> they could not move her. Then they understood, and buried her in that place, in Cakhet'hi, in the village of Budi. The saint herself had begged the king, in her modesty, that she might be buried there, for the place was humble. But the king and all the nobles grieved to bury her there; yet, in order to fulfil her will and desire, they did so. And they built a church and appointed a bishop over it, in honour of the holy, blessed enlightener of Kart'li, Cakhet'hi, and Heret'hi<sup>2</sup>, the thrice divinely blessed, noble Nino.

When the divinely enlightened King Mirian had done this, he strengthened all Kart'li and Heret'hi in the faith of the triune God, without beginning or end, the Creator of all; and they were thoroughly confirmed in their belief.

Constantine sends  
Prince Bakar  
with a letter to  
Mirian.

The Emperor Constantine, who held as a hostage Mirian's son Bakar, sent him home with many gifts, and wrote:

'I, Constantine the king, absolute sovereign, a new servant of the kingdom of heaven, formerly a captive of the devil, but delivered by the Creator, I write to thee, King Mirian, the divinely enlightened, like me newly planted in the faith. Peace be unto thee, and the joy of those who know the Trinity, the infinite God, the creating God of all. It is no longer needful for me to have a hostage of thee, for it suffices

<sup>1</sup> A. V. 'two hundred men could not move the couch on which she lay.'

<sup>2</sup> A province south of Cakhet'hi.

to have between us as mediator Christ, the Son of God, existent from all eternity, who became man for our salvation, and His honourable cross which is given to us as a guide. By faith in it, and by the mediation of God the Creator, let us be in brotherly love one to another. I give unto thee thy son; see him and rejoice, and may the angel of peace coming from God be with you. May the Creator God always drive the wicked devil from your land.'

When Prince Bakar and the messenger from the Emperor Constantine came to Mtskhetha, King Mirian and Queen Nana were filled with joy, and thanked God for all the gifts He had bestowed on them. King Mirian finished the cathedral, and consecrated it with great solemnity in the twenty-fifth year from his conversion. Rev, his son, died; he was son-in-law of T'hrdat, king of the Armenians, who had given him the kingdom in his own life. They buried Rev in the tomb which he himself had built. In the same year King Mirian fell sick, and was nigh unto death. He said to his son Bakar and his wife Nana: 'I do not pass hence as I came, and I thank the bounteous God, Creator of heaven and earth, who delivered me from the mouth of hell when I was a captive of the devil, and esteems me worthy to sit with Him on His right hand. Thou, Nana, in due time after my death, divide our royal treasure into two parts, and give (half of) it for the burial-place of Nino our enlightener, so that the spot may never be disturbed, for it is not a royal city, but a poor place; also tell the bishop to glorify the place, for it is worthy of honour.'

Death of  
Mirian.

And he said to his son: 'My son, my darkness has been turned into light, and death into life. To thee I give the crown of my realm. May God, the Creator of heaven and earth, strengthen thee in perfect faith. Obey all the commands of the Son of God, and rest entirely upon them and upon the name of Christ. Death will become life to thee. . . . Wherever thou findest those fire-worshippers and idols, burn them with fire, and cause them to drink the

cinders<sup>1</sup>. And teach thy children the same, for I know that in the Caucasians idolatry will be extirpated. Put thy heart into this matter, and pray unto the Son of God born in the first times, who became man and suffered for our salvation, and lead before thee the honourable cross to conquer thine enemies, for even so do true believers. Honour the divinely raised pillar, and let all thy hopes be towards it; and mayest thou fall asleep in the faith of the holy Trinity.'

Coronation  
of Bakar.

They caused the cross of St. Nino to be brought, the cross which she had at first, and hung the royal crown upon it, and led forward Bakar and made the sign of the cross on his head, and took the crown from the cross and put it on his head. And King Mirian died, and they buried him in the Upper Church, by the southern corner of the pillar in which is a piece of the divinely raised column. Next year, Queen Nana died, and was buried to the west of the pillar, in the same place as King Mirian.

Bakar, Mirian's son, was king, and he was a believer, like his father. He converted very many of the people of Caucasus whom his father had not been able to turn to the true faith.

*Rufinus, 'Ecclesiastical History,' Bk. II, ch. vii, in Migne's 'Patrologia,' t. xxi. 480-482 (the following from 'Auctores Hist. Eccl. Basilie,' 1544, pp. 225-226).*

Per idem tempus etiam Iberorum gens, quae sub axe Pontico jacet, verbi Dei foedera et fidem futuri susceperat regni. Sed huius tanti boni praestitit causam mulier quaedam captiva, quae apud eos reperta, cum fidelem et sobriam satis ac pudicam duceret vitam, totisque diebus ac noctibus obsecrationes Deo pervigiles exhiberet, in admiratione esse ipsa rei novitas barbaris coepit et quid hoc sibi velit, curiosius per-

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Conybeare says it is a common trait in the wars of the Christian Armenians with Persian fire-worshippers for the latter, if conquered, to be made to drink the cinders mixed with water.

quirebant. Illa, ut res erat, simpliciter Christum se Deum hoc ritu colere fatebatur. Nihil ex hoc amplius barbari praeter novitatem nominis mirabantur. Verum (ut fieri solet) ipsa perseverantia curiositatem quandam mulierculis inferebat, si quid emolumenti ex tanta devotione caperetur. Moris apud eos esse dicitur, ut si parvulus aegrotet, circumferatur a matre per singulas domus, quo scilicet si quis experti aliquid remedii noverit, conferat laboranti. Cumque mulier quaedam parvulum suum per omnes circumtulisset ex more, nec aliquid remedii, cunctas domos lustrando, cepisset, venit etiam ad captivam, ut si quid sciret, ostenderet. Illa se humani quidem remedii nihil scire testatur, Deum tamen suum Christum quem colebat, dare ei desperatam ab hominibus posse salutem confirmat. Cumque cilicio suo parvulum superposuisset, atque ipsa desuper orationem fudisset ad Dominum, sanum matri reddidit infantem. Sermo defertur ad plures, factique fama magnifici usque ad aures reginae perlabitur. Quae dolore quodam gravissimo corporis afflicta, in desperatione maxima erat. Rogat ad se captivam deduci. Illa ire abnuat, ne praesumere amplius aliquid quam sexus sineret videretur. Ipsam se regina deferri ad captivae cellulam jubet. Quam similiter supra cilicium suum positam, invocato Christi nomine, continuo post precem, sanam et alacrem fecit exsurgere: Christumque esse Deum, Dei summi Filium, qui salutem hanc contulerit, docet: eumque quem sibi auctorem suae sciret esse incolumitatis et vitae, commonet invocandum. Ipsum namque esse, qui et regibus regna distribuat et mortalibus vitam. At illa cum laetitia domum regressa, marito percontanti causam tam subitae sanitatis aperuit, quique cum pro salute conjugis laetus, mulieri munera deferri juberet, illa: horum, inquit, o rex nihil captiva dignatur: aurum despicit, argentum respuit, jejunio quasi cibo pascitur: hoc solum ei muneris dabimus, si eum, qui me illa invocante sanavit, Christum Deum colamus. Ad hoc tunc rex signior fuit et interim distulit, saepius licet ab uxore commonitus, donec accidit quadam die venante eo in



silvis cum comitibus suis, obscurari densissimis tenebris diem, et per tetrae noctis horrorem luce subducta, caecis iter gressibus denegari. Alius alio diversi ex comitibus oberrant: ipse solus densissima obscuritate circumdatus, quid ageret, quo se verteret nesciebat: cum repente anxios salutis desperatione animos cogitatio talis ascendit. Si vere Deus est Christus ille, quem uxori suae captiva praedixerat, nunc se de his tenebris liberet, ut ipsum ex hoc omissis omnibus coleret. Illico ut haec nondum verbo, sed sola mente devoverat, reddita mundo dies, regem ad urbem perducit incolumem. Quique reginae rem protinus ut gesta est pandit. Evocari jam jamque captivam et colendi ritum ut sibi tradat, exposcit: neque se ultra alium Deum quam Christum veneraturum esse confirmat. Adest captiva, edocet Deum Christum: supplicandi ritum venerandique modum, inquantum de his aperire feminae fas erat, pandit. Fabricari tamen Ecclesiam monet, formamque describit. Igitur rex totius gentis populo convocato, rem ab initio quae erga se ac reginam gesta fuerat, exponit fidemque edocet et nondum initiatus in sacris fit suae gentis apostolus. Credunt viri per regem, feminae per reginam: cunctisque idem volentibus Ecclesia extruitur instanter: et elevato jam perneciter murorum ambitu, tempus erat quo columnae collocari deberent. Cumque erecta prima vel secunda, ventum fuisset ad tertiam, consumptis omnibus machinis et boum hominumque viribus cum media jam in obliquum fuisset erecta et pars reliqua nullis machinis erigeretur, repetitis secundo et tertio ac saepius viribus, ne loco quidem moveri attritis omnibus potuit. Admiratio erat totius populi, regis animositas hebescebat: quid fieri deberet, omnes simul latebat. Sed cum interventu noctis, omnes abcessissent, cunctique mortales et ipsa opera cessarent, captiva sola in oratione pernoctans mansit intrinsecus: cum ecce matutinus et anxius cum suis omnibus ingrediens rex, vidit columnam, quam tot machinae ac tot populi movere non quiverant, erectam et supra basim suam librate suspensam, nec tamen superpositam, sed quantum unius pedis spatio in aere pendentem! Tunc vero

omnis populi contuentes et magnificantes Deum, veram esse regis fidem et captivæ religionem præsentis miraculi testimonio perhibebant. Et ecce mirantibus adhuc et stupentibus cunctis, in oculis eorum sensim supra basim suam, nullo contingente, columna deposita, summa cum libratione consedit. Post hoc reliquus numerus columnarum tanta facilitate suspensus est, ut omnes quæ superfuerant, ipsa die locarentur. Postea vero quam Ecclesia magnifice constructa est, et populi et fidem Dei maiore ardore sitiebant, captivæ monitis ad imperatorem Constantinum totius gentis legatio mittitur: res gesta exponitur: sacerdotes mittere oratur, qui caeptum erga se Dei munus explerent. Quibus ille cum omni gaudio ex honore transmissis, multo amplius ex hoc laetatus est, quam si incognitas Romano imperio gentes et regna ignota junxisset. *Haec nobis ita gesta, fidelissimus vir Bacurius, gentis ipsius rex, et apud nos Domesticorum comes (cui summa erat cura et religionis et veritatis) exposuit cum nobiscum Palaestini tunc limitis Dux in Hierosolymis satis unanimiter degeret.*

*Passage relating to Nino in the MS. entitled 'The Conversion of Georgia' (Moktzevai Kart'hlisai).*

. . . Ten years after [the adoption of Christianity by Constantine], Elene went to Jerusalem to seek the honourable cross; and in the fourteenth year, a certain woman, Evadagi<sup>1</sup>, by name Rip'hsime, fled from the king, for some reason, with her foster-mother. And there was with her a certain beautiful captive woman called Nino, of whom Queen Elene inquired concerning her affairs, and she was a Roman princess. She went on her way, performing many miracles of healing, and she arrived in Greece and instructed the Princess Rip'hsime.

When Rip'hsime, Gaine, Nino, and certain others with them, had crossed the sea in flight, they came into the bounds

<sup>1</sup> The word *Evadagi* has not been explained. There are many obscure passages in the MS.

of Somkhit'hi (Armenia), the realm of King T'hrdat, and were martyred there. But Nino escaped; and, crossing the mountains to the northward, came to the river Mtcuari (Kura). She followed it and came to Mtzkhet'ha, a great city, the royal residence. She was there three years, praying secretly in a place covered with bramble bushes. She made a cross of vine-stems, and tarried there and prayed. And that place was without the walls. In the place where the brambles were the altar of the Upper Church (Zemo ecclesia) now stands.

In the fourth year she began to preach the God Christ and His faith, saying that 'this land of the north was found in error.' In the sixth year she caused the king's wife, Nana, to believe, she being sick, and in the seventh year the king was converted to Christ by a miracle. Immediately he built the Lower Church in the royal garden, the erection of which he himself directed.

When they had built the church, he sent an ambassador, and a letter from Nino, to Constantine, king of Greece, asking for priests; they came quickly. The king sent Bishop Ioane, two priests, a deacon, a letter from Queen Elene, an *icon* of the Saviour, and the wood of life for Nino. When they arrived, King Mirean, the queen, and all their household received baptism. They asked for a tree that they might make a cross. . . .<sup>1</sup>

<sup>2</sup>[Then the king commanded Abiat'har, and many Jews with him, to come before him; and he inquired of them concerning the tunic, and they told him all that is written above. And King Mirian raised his hands, saying: 'Blessed art Thou, O Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the Living God, for] Thou wishest to save us and deliver us from the devil and his dark place, since Thy garment was brought by these Hebrews from the holy city Jerusalem to this city of a strange race, for our fathers ruled in this city at Thy crucifixion.' And

<sup>1</sup> Here there is a leaf wanting in the MS.

<sup>2</sup> The passage within brackets is filled in from Kart'hl. Tzkh. That which follows, to the end of Nino's prayer, is the same, almost word for word, and has evidently been taken from the same MS.

the king and all Kart'hli betook themselves right speedily to Christianity.

Then the blessed woman Nino said: 'Blessed is God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who sent His holy Word from high heaven, Himself coming from His throne of might, to lowly earth; without doubt born in a body, of the seed of David, born of a woman alone, holy and pure, who was pleasing to Him; and thus He took upon Him our life. He enlightened every being beneath the heavens, and they more readily became believers in Him because He was born as a man. He was worshipped as God; He was baptized, as a servant of the law, with water and with earth. He witnessed for, and glorified the Father and the Holy Ghost on high; He was crucified, buried, and rose again. He mounted into the heights to His Father, and is to come again with glory. To Him praise is fitting. Amen.'

When she had spoken thus, she took with her Jacob the priest, who had come from Greece, and an *erist'hav*, and went away to Tsoben, and called the Mt'heulians, Dchart'halian, P'khovians, and Tsilcanians, and preached the faith of Christ; but they would not receive it. The *erist'hav* raised his sword a little, and with fear they gave up their idols to be broken. They passed to Ertso<sup>1</sup>, and tarried in Zhalet'hi, in the village of Edem, and baptized the Ertso-T'hianians. And the Quarians heard this, and fled to T'hoshet'hi, but were at last subdued, King T'hrdat<sup>2</sup> baptizing them.

And she became frail, and set out for Mtzkhet'ha. And when she arrived in Ctoet'ha, in the village which is called Bodini, she could go no farther. And there came forth from the city of Uzharma, Rev, the king's son, and Salomê, his wife, and his daughter, to watch over her. The king and his wife, Nana, sent Iovane, the archbishop, to see her and bring her back. But she did not wish to go<sup>3</sup>, and entreated

<sup>1</sup> Ertso, a small district east of Saguramo. Zhalet'hi is in Ertso.

<sup>2</sup> ? Mirdat III, of Georgia, brother of Bacur (A.D. 364-379).

<sup>3</sup> Kart'hl. Tzkh. : 'But St. Nino set out to go to Ran, in order to convert P'heroz, and when she approached the village of Budi in Cakhethi, she

that after him Jacob the priest should be appointed. And she gave to him the letter written by Queen Helene, who wrote to Nino as queen, apostle, and evangelist. She gave the wood of life to Queen Nana. And Iovane gave Nino of the body and blood of Christ, and she took the provision for her soul's journey, and committed her spirit into the hands of God, in the fifteenth year from her arrival in Kart'hli, from the ascension of Christ three hundred and thirty-eight years, from the beginning five thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight<sup>1</sup>.

Then the two cities, Mtzkhet'ha and Uzharma, and all the land of Kart'hli grieved because of her death. They came and buried her body, clad with power, in that place, even in Budi, a village of Ckhoet'hi. King Mirean and all the people went and built the Upper Church (*Zemo ecclesia*) of stone. Four years passed, and King Mirean died, and was buried on the north side of the central southern column. In that column is a piece of the pillar of life. In the second year Queen Nana died, and was buried to the west of the same pillar as King Mirean.

And Bacur, the son of Rev<sup>2</sup>, was appointed king; and Bishop Iovane died, and the priest Jacob, who had come from the same place, was appointed archbishop.

Twenty-three years from the raising of the honourable cross, Rev made a canopy and a tomb in the Lower Church (*Kvemo ecclesia*). And Rev died<sup>3</sup>, and was buried with his wife. In the tenth year after this, Bacur began to build the church of Tsilcani, and thirty-five years afterwards he died, and was buried in the Lower Church. . . .

stayed there some days; and the people of Cakhet'hi came unto her, inquiring of her, and she taught many.'

<sup>1</sup> ? Evidently for 'ascension' we should read 'birth.'

<sup>2</sup> Kart'hl. Tzkh. 'Bakar, or Bahkar, the son of Mirian.'

<sup>3</sup> In Kart'hl. Tzkh., Rev's death takes place before Mirian's. Kart'hl. Tzkh. says: 'From the conversion of King Mirian, in the twenty-fifth year (*Chronique armén.* 'thirty-fifth') died his son Rev, son-in-law of T'hrdat, king of the Armenians, who gave him his kingdom in his life. He (Rev) was buried in a sepulchre which he himself had built.'

PASSAGE RELATING TO NINO IN THE ARMENIAN  
HISTORY OF MOSES OF CHORENE (CH. LXXXVI).

. . . A certain woman named Nuné, one of the scattered companions of St. Ripsime, came in her flight to the land of the Iberians, to their royal city Mtzkhet'ha. By her strict life she gained the gift of healing, through which she healed many that were afflicted, and among others the wife of Mikhran, ruler of Iberia. And when Mikhran asked her by what power she did these wonders, he received from her the knowledge of the gospel of Christ.

At that time it happened that Mikhran went to the chase: in rough country he lost himself in the mountains in dull weather, but not in consequence of a vision, for it is said: 'Darkness He calls forth with His voice' (Job xxxviii. 34), and in another place: 'He darkens the day into night' (Amos v. 8). Such was the darkness with which Mikhran was engirt, and it was to him the cause of everlasting light: for in his terror he remembered what had been said of Terdat, who was struck by God when he was preparing for the chase; Mikhran bethought himself: the same thing might happen to him. Fear-stricken he prayed that the air might be cleared, and that he might return in peace, promising to worship Nuné. His prayer was heard, and he fulfilled his promise.

Then the blessed Nuné demanded faithful men, whom she sent to St. Gregory to ask what he would have her do, seeing that the Iberians had willingly accepted the preaching of the gospel. And she received his command to destroy the idols, following his example, and to raise the sign of the honourable cross, until that day when the Lord should give a pastor to govern them. She immediately cast down the image of the thunderer Aramazd, which stood outside the city, separated therefrom by a great river (Kura). The people were wont at early morn to worship from their housetops that image

aloft before their eyes; those that wished to offer him sacrifice, crossed the river and fulfilled the immolation before the temples.

The satraps of the city arose and said: 'Whom shall we worship instead of the idols?' They were told that they should worship 'the sign of the cross of Christ.' This they made, and set it up to the east of the city on a fair hill, which was also separated from the city by a small river (Aragva). In the morning, according to their custom, people worshipped it from their housetops. But when they went up to the hill and saw a piece of wood, roughly hewn, many said, with contempt, that all their forests were full of such wood, and then went away. But God in His goodness looked down on their error. He sent from the heavens a pillar of cloud, and all the hill was filled with fragrance: a melodious voice sounded, of many singers of psalms, and there appeared a light with a representation of the cross, of the size and shape of the cross of wood: twelve stars stood over the wooden cross; all believed and worshipped. And from that time many were healed by that cross.

But the blessed Nuné set forth, to instruct with her pure lips the other regions of Iberia: she went about everywhere in a dress of exceeding simplicity, having nothing superfluous, a stranger to the world and all that belongs to it, or rather nailed to the cross, exercising her life in continual death, confessing by her word the divine Word, and crowned with her readiness as with a bloody crown; we make bold to say that she, having become an apostle, preached, beginning from the Kekharchians (in Greater Armenia), at the gates of the Alans (? Ossets—Dariel Pass) and Kasbians<sup>1</sup>, even unto the bounds of the Maskuts (Massagetae), as thou mayest learn from Agathangelos.

<sup>1</sup> East of Cakhet'hi. Cf. Strabo, iv. 5.

# THE ARMENIAN VERSION OF DJOUANSHÊR

TRANSLATED BY F. C. CONYBEARE.

## PREFATORY NOTE.

IN Armenian is preserved a history of the Georgians ascribed to one Djouanshêr. That it is a translation of a Georgian writer's work, the occurrence in it of Georgian forms and idioms proves, and it was made not later than the thirteenth century, for it is quoted in the history of Stephanos Ourbelian, who lived in the time of Gregory Anavarzi towards the end of that century.

In chapter xvi (p. 104 of the San Lazaro edition of 1884) this work contains a notice which reveals to us the Georgian sources used. The following is the passage: 'And this brief history was found in the time of confusion, and was placed in the book which is called *The Kharthlis* (or *Qarthlis*) *Tzkhorepa*<sup>1</sup>, that is, *The History of the Karthli*. And Djouanshêr found it, written up to the time of King Wakhthang. And Djouanshêr himself continued it up to the present time, and entrusted the (record) of events to those who saw and fell in with him (or them) in his time.'

In spite of the obscurity of the last sentence, it is clear from the above that the Armenian is a translation of Djouanshêr; and as the notice follows immediately after the narrative of the martyrdom of King Artchil II, who reigned from 688-718, the Georgian original was a document of considerable antiquity. Within that original, however, was included a narrative of still earlier date which Djouanshêr merely continued up to his own day. The redaction of this

<sup>1</sup> See Miss Wardrop's preface, p. 4.



earlier narrative belonged to the reign of Wakhthang, and was therefore not later than 483 A. D.

To this earlier nucleus of Djouanshêr's work belongs the episode of the conversion of Iberia by St. Nouna, which I now translate; and we are probably entitled to assume that the Armenian represents a form of the text as it was written down before the end of the fifth century. The general impression left on one's mind, after confronting the Armenian document with the Georgian as translated by Miss Wardrop, is, that the latter has been handed down with great fidelity.

In this connexion it is well to draw the reader's attention to the following points.

1. The marginal numbers inset of my translation of the Armenian show at a glance the correspondence page by page of Djouanshêr's narrative with Miss Wardrop's translation. A glance at them shows that Djouanshêr's narrative was shorter in form and more compact than the existing Georgian text. And this remains certain, even if we admit, as we must, that the Armenian translator considerably abridged his original.

2. The structure of the original document is best preserved in the Armenian. Thus its opening words make it clear, that, when Nino had been three years only in Mtzkhet'ha, she communicated to Salome the narrative of her previous life, pp. 1-23.

At the close of this narrative the right transition to Abiathar's narrative is provided by the Armenian alone in Nino's closing words:—'And if thou ask thou shalt learn from Abiathar the truth.'

Abiathar at once begins his story. It continues as far as p. 29, 'by the bridge of the Magi.' Here the Armenian quite rightly puts the episode of the Jews' desiring to stone Abiathar at the conclusion of his story, which he may have repeated to Salome in the Jewish quarter of Mtzkhet'ha.

But the Georgian text is dislocated at this point, and defers this episode to p. 31, interpolating it in the middle of the continued narrative of Nino's missionary activity.

That narrative, which rightly speaks of Nino in the third person, continues as far as p. 54, that is, up to the saint's death-bed scene. And here the Armenian, more clearly than

the Georgian, which is confused, relates the genesis of Nino's early travel-document. The bystanders ask Nino for information of her early days, and Nino replies: 'I have related it to the ears of Salome. . . . Have paper and ink brought and write it down from her lips.'

The document that was so written down is chapter viii of Djouanshêr, pp. 1-23 of Miss Wardrop's translation. In it Nino tells her story in the first person according to the oldest Georgian MS. (A.V.), and also according to Djouanshêr's form of narrative. This characteristic trait of the travel-document is lost or obscured in the later Georgian texts.

3. The Armenian helps to bring out the rather primitive, and perhaps Montanist, cast of Nino's Christianity, which doubtless was also the original type of belief introduced into Georgia. For the Armenian often omits traits of the more elaborate and developed Christianity established in the fourth century which the Georgian contains, and *vice versa*, interpolates other similar traits which the Georgian omits. In such cases the Georgian and Armenian, as it were, cancel each other; and we may infer that these traits of a later stage of ecclesiastical development did not stand in the original acts. I give examples: on p. 20 the Armenian omits the dogmatic references to the Trinity in Nino's prayer. On the other hand, in p. 23 the Armenian introduces a similar reference from which the Georgian text is free. So on pp. 47 and 56 the Georgian has the phrases 'the great triune God,' and 'the Trinity, the infinite God.' In the corresponding passages of the Armenian these dogmatic expressions are absent. In p. 34, on the other hand, the Armenian is more dogmatic than the Georgian; also in p. 31: 'My God Jesus, King eternal.'

Again in p. 25 we have the phrase: 'the Son of the Virgin.' In the corresponding Armenian this: 'the poor son of a woman in distress.' So on p. 44 the Georgian has 'born indeed of the seed of David, of a virgin pure and holy'; where the Armenian has the unusual phrase, 'from an only-begotten mother was born the only-begotten God.' The two phrases at least discount each other; and the inference is that later than the fourth or fifth century Georgian scribes retouched the story dogmatically in one way and in one set of passages;

while in Djouanshêr's and the Armenian tradition it was retouched in another way and in a different set of passages.

But both the Georgian documents and the Armenian agree on the following points: that Jesus was 'the heavenly man,' p. 25 (reinforced by the Armenian in p. 30); who 'when he had reached man's estate called himself the Son of God,' p. 27. Both witnesses also lay stress on the baptism of Jesus, p. 45, and this evidently figured as an article in Nino's creed. It was an incident of vital importance in the Ebionite view of Jesus Christ, yet one of which later dogmatic systems lost sight. Lastly, both sources insist that Jesus Christ 'came in the flesh,' p. 41; and this was the position usually urged against the primitive error of the Docetae and Manicheans.

The Armenian makes it less clear that Nino herself baptized; for it omits the very suspicious proviso 'except baptism' contained in the Georgian on p. 23—a proviso which at once suggests to a reader familiar with ecclesiastical documents that she did baptize. The Armenian also ignores the express statement which survives in p. 42 of the Georgian that Nino baptized the king Mirian.

It also refers twice, pp. 38 and 39, to Nino's twelve disciples, where the Georgian only notices them once. More than one heresiarch was accused of profanity for choosing just that number of apostles to aid in the work of propagandism. The assumption by Abiathar upon his conversion of the name Paul is made clearer in the Armenian than in the corresponding Georgian, pp. 30 and 33. It reminds us of the similar custom which prevailed among the Paulicians, and was also not unknown among orthodox believers.

Lastly, it is noticeable that the Armenian text, up to nearly the end of chapter x (= p. 40), calls the saint Nouni; but for the rest of the narrative calls her Ninau or Ninô. Perhaps this change of spelling implies a new documentary stratum in the Georgian original which underlay the Armenian. In general I have kept all differences of spelling of the Armenian text. The name Niophor on p. 10 appears to be the Greek νεωκόρος, mediatized through a Syriac document in which *o* was confused with *ə*. If so, the original acts were written in Syriac.

# CHAPTER VIII.

At that time<sup>1</sup> the blessed lady Nouni, the mother of the Wirq<sup>2</sup> (i.e. Iberians), came to Mtzkhet'ha, and was there three years<sup>3</sup>. And the queen of the Wirq, Solomoni (? Solomé), asked her whence she was. And Nouni told her thus:—

The original report about me was that once on a time the race of Brandji were at war with Rome; and a certain man, Zabulon by name, a Cappadocian, conquered them by the<sup>8</sup> might of Christ, and took captive the king and his army. And they, astonished, asked for the grace of baptism, which he bestowed on them, and dismissed them to their country illuminated in Christ.

Zabulon himself also went with them and made the race of<sup>9</sup> the Brandji Christian. And he came to the king and received from him many presents, then went off to Jerusalem to honour the holy places. And there he found two orphans who were come from Klastat after the death of their parents, who were Christians. The name of one was Houbnal (i.e. Juvenal), and of his sister Susan, who was servant to Niaphor<sup>4</sup> of<sup>10</sup> Bethlehem. And Zabulon took Susan to himself to wife, and departed to the city of Klastatas. And I was born of them.

And when I was twelve years old they came to Jerusalem. And my father went away into the wilderness, entrusting me to God and to the grace of Christ, that I might devote myself in virginity to the heavenly bridegroom. And I entered the house of Niophor of Armenian race from the city of Dwin,

<sup>1</sup> The last event chronicled was the successful war of Constantine with Mihran, king of Iberia, at the conclusion of which Constantine took Bahqar, Mihran's son, as a hostage, and Trdat, king of Armenia, gave his daughter Bèoun (after marriage called Solomé) to Mihran's son. The chaptering of the Armenian is that of the printed text of Djouanshér.

<sup>2</sup> Wirq was the Armenian name for the Georgians. The final *q* marks the plural and the correspondence with *Iberi* is clear. The Georgians in Turu knew the Armenians as the *Somkhuri*, the Hellenes or Heathens as *Thesarmarthi* and the Greek tongue as *Berdznuli*.

<sup>3</sup> Nino had been three years in Mtzkhet'ha when she told her story to Salome. The text has *amies* = 'months,' which I correct to *am* 'years.' See p. 75 (23).

<sup>4</sup> Also spelt Niophor. Whether this person was male or female does not appear in the Armenian. It is only clear therefrom that there was one person of the name and not two, and that he (or she) came from Dwin, the old Christian centre of Armenia, on the Araxes near Artaxata.

- and I served him (*or her*) two years, and was continually being informed about the economy of Christ our God, and of how he died (*lit.* how was the end), and of where are the grave-clothes of our Lord. And they taught me that the things written by the prophet were fulfilled in the Lord, and that he
- 11 was crucified and rose, and went up into heaven, and is to come again. And the clothes the wife of Pilate asked for (*or sought*), and believed in Christ; and departed into Pontus to her home. And after a time it fell to Luke the Evangelist, and he knows what he did with them. And as to the napkin, Peter, they say, took it with him; and the seamless tunic reached the shady (*i. e.* Northern) land, and lies in the city of Mtzkhet'ha. But the Lord's cross lies buried in Jerusalem, and is revealed whenever he desires.
- 12 And I having heard all this went to the Patriarch, and he
- 13 blessed me. And I departed to Rome, that peradventure I might win there some share in the grace of Christ. And having set my face sure to the living hope, I found the Wanq (*i. e.* resthouse) of Paul, in which lived virgins, 300 souls.
- 14 And there trials beset us, and we came to Armenia. And the Caesar sent a letter to Trdat; and search was made, and they found us in the troughs of the wine-press. And the king
- 15 after much trouble failed in his efforts to induce the betrothed of Christ Hripsima to wed him; and resorting to the sword he massacred of us thirty-seven souls. And the rest were scattered; but I remained beneath rose trees, which were not yet in blossom. And raising my eyes aloft I saw the souls of the saints passing to heaven. And their commander was a priest; with a fiery host he went to meet them, having in his hand a censer; and with the smell of the incense was the whole world filled. And having censured the saints, he returned with them, and they passed in behind the veil.
- 16 But I cried unto the Lord saying: Wherefore hast thou left me here, my Lord Jesus? And he answered me: Fear thou not, for thou shalt go up to the same place as thy sisters. But do thou rise up and go to the region of the north, where is much harvest to reap, but where labourer is not. And after a little time yonder bush covered with thorns doth bourgeon and blossom with roses.

And I rose up and came to Ourbani of the Armenians, and I wintered there; and in the month of June I came to the mountain of Dshavakheth. And reaching the lake of Pharhnav, I saw there men fishing in the lake, and shepherds on the edge of the lake. And I heard that they swore<sup>1</sup> by Aramazd and by Zadën. For I was acquainted with the tongue of the Armenians, having learned it in the house of Niophor of Dwin. And I asked them whence they were, and they said, from Darb, from Lrban, from Saphoursli, from Qintseri, from Rhapaten of Mtzkhet'ha, where gods are glorified and kings do rule. And this river which runs out of the lake goes thither. And I retired alone and laid down my<sup>17</sup> head and slept. And there was given to me a book in the Roman tongue, sealed with a seal. And the writing of the seal was the name of Jesus Christ. And the man who gave me the letter said to me: Arise, go and preach whatsoever is written therein. And I said to him: Who am I, a woman ignorant and weak? But he said to me: In the grace of Christianity and in the land of life, which is the heavenly (= *ἀνω*) Jerusalem, there is neither male nor female. And weakness and ignorance is not spoken of, for Christ is the strength of God and the wisdom of God. And Mariam Magdalene announced the resurrection of Christ to the apostles and to many others; and there was no shame to her for speaking nor to them for listening. And I opened the book, and there was in it writ in brief all the power of the gospel, comprised in ten sentences (*lit.* words)<sup>2</sup>.

And I, having read and understood it, arose and prayed to<sup>18</sup> the Lord; and I followed the river from the direction of the west, until the water turned to the east. And I reached Ourbnis, and was there one month; and then I came with merchants to Mtzkhet'ha. And on the day of the feast of Aramazd I followed the king and all the people; and I saw<sup>19</sup> there a man clad in copper cuirass and casque of gold, adorned with two eyes, one an emerald and the other a beryl, having

<sup>1</sup> I.e. made their vows to those gods. All this part of the acts of Nino is astonishingly correct in its topography and, so far as we can check them, in its other allusions.

<sup>2</sup> The Armenian omits the ten sentences. It was such a manual as a Montanist prophethess might have carried about with her.

a sword in his hand like a lightning-flash, and he moved it, striking fear into the crowd. And they were trembling and saying: Woe unto us, if we have been amiss in sacrifice or have sinned in words with Jew or with Magi, for we shall die at the hand of Aramazd. And there stood on his right hand a gold image named Gatzî, and on his left the silver image called Gayim.

- 20 And I remembered the saying of Houbnal the patriarch of Jerusalem, who said to me, Thou shalt reach a land of men at war with the true God. And I heaved a sigh and wept, and petitioned of God mercy on the erring, and said: God of my father and mother, visit thy wrath on these demon-possessed images, and destroy them, that they may know thee, the-only true God. And there was on a sudden a violent wind, and
- 21 a voice of thunder, and shootings forth of thunderbolts, and hail of the weight of a litre; and a stench horrible and foul, and dense thick gloom, which made the images invisible. And the crowd was dispersed, and entered into hiding. And on the second day the king and all the people went forth, and sought to find the reason of what had happened. Then said some: The God of the Chaldaeans Throudjan<sup>1</sup> and our Aramazd are enemies from the beginning. And once on a time our God destroyed him with water, and now he has taken his revenge. But some said what was true, that, the great God who smote the king of the Armenians, and afterwards healed him along with all Hayastan (i. e. Armenia), he has wrought this wonder.
- 22 And I found the eye of beryl and came under the tree Bantschi, which they call the shelter of King Bartom; and I prayed there for six days. And on the great day of the transfiguration of the Lord, when the Lord showed the image of the Father to the chief apostles and prophets, there came to me a royal person, Shoushan by name, and seeing me she marvelled. And she brought an interpreter that spoke the Roman tongue and asked me questions, pitying

<sup>1</sup> We recognize the name Xisuthrus used by Berosus. But whether the Georgian despoils Eusebius' chronicon or preserves the independent local tradition which Berosus preserves is not clear. I should conjecture that the Book of Nimrod is the proximate Georgian source.

me as a stranger. And she wished to lead me to the palace. But I did not go with her; but I went thence and found a woman called Anastou, who was wife of the man who took care of the royal garden, and she received me gladly. And I was in their house nine months.

And they had no child, and were for that reason in great <sup>23</sup> sorrow. And a luminous man said to me: Go into the garden, and from the root of a cedar<sup>1</sup> sapling by the rose-bushes thou shalt take earth, and give it to them to eat in the name of the Lord, and he will give them offspring. And I did so; and I gave it them in the name of Jesus Christ the God of Sabaoth, who came in lowliness and is to come again in his glory to judge the world according to its deserts. And they listened and believed in Christ, and received the child promised.

And I went forth from their house; and outside the wall in a grove of tamarisks made myself a station. And there I abode three years, and having fashioned a cross I worshipped before it the holy Trinity by day and night. And day by day I would repair to the Jews, because of their tongue, and to gain information of the Lord's tunic. And the priest Abiathar and his daughter Sidonia believed in the advent of Christ, and six Jewish women with her. And if thou ask thou shalt learn from Abiathar the truth.

And having heard all this, the wise queen wondered and <sup>24</sup> believed in what she said. And when she heard of the great marvels which occurred to her father Trdat, she was all the more strengthened in the faith and glorified God in his infinite glory.

## CHAPTER IX.

But the priest Abiathar told his story in the hearing of all in words of the following tenor:—

In the year in which the holy Nouni came to Mtzkhet'ha, I was priest by lot of my race. And there was brought me a writing from Antioch from the Jews there, to the effect that the kingdom was rent in three, and that Romans,

<sup>1</sup> The Armenian word more properly signifies a 'pine' sapling.



Greeks and Armenians rule us. And that our prophets are silenced and our temple is demolished. And this we know from the Scriptures, that, when our fathers sinned, God was angry and gave them over to captivity. And when they beheld their tribulation, they repented, and cried out to the Lord in prayer; and God was appeased and allowed them  
 25 to return and had mercy on them. And seven times this happened in the days of old. But since when our sires crucified the son of a poor (*or* the poor son of a) woman in distress, named Christ, there are now 300 years that the wrath of the Lord is increased upon us; and we cry out to him early and late, and he gives us no answer, nor is appeased towards us. Whence it is right to understand that he is the Son of God, foreshadowed by the Law and the Prophets. And do thou look and examine in thy wisdom out of thine acquaintance with Scripture, to see how all the things written have been fulfilled, and that that man was truly from heaven.

Now I was in great sorrow for many days, and then on examining the Scriptures I found that the time signified by Daniel reached its sum under Augustus Caesar of the Romans. And while I was engaged in this I saw the holy Nouni, and was informed and heard from her lips the words of the writings of our prophets, and the character of his economy in detail and order, all things from the birth until the ascension into heaven. And I believed in sooth that he was the hope of the Gentiles and the salvation of my people Israel. And behold we became worthy, I and my seed, of the water of *Niebazi*<sup>1</sup>, which is of Bethlehem, which David longed for, but did not attain to. And the Lord remembered us according to his pleasure in his people, and visited us in his salvation; and we dwelled in the house of the Lord, that we might eternally praise the Lord. For the holy David blessed us; and may God vouchsafe to me to see yet other marvels and blessings in the city by the hand of the holy lady Nouni.

26 And his hearers were glad and said to Abiathar: What-

<sup>1</sup> *Niebazi* is unintelligible. It is evidently a transcription of the word *embassa* which here stands in the Georgian text. The Armenian translator mistook it for a proper name. It = 'of baptism,' or 'of the font,' being in turn a transcription of the word *ἐμβασίς*.

ever thou knowest about this, tell unto us. And he said to them :—

We have heard from our fathers,—what their fathers had related to them,—that in the days of King Herod there<sup>27</sup> came a rumour to the Jews of Mtzkhet'ha, that kings from among the Persians had come and taken Jerusalem ; and the priests of Bouday and Kodi, the Tslarian scribes and Canaanite interpreters set out in headlong flight eastwards, and all the Jews took to mourning. But after a few days tidings were noised abroad that the Persians in Jerusalem were not come for war, but to do homage to a son of a virgin, born of the seed of David, having as their guide from heaven a star reasonable and wise. Whom having found in the wilderness they glorified him as God. For instead of arms they had offerings with them, kingly gold and myrrh of healing and frankincense to offer to God. And having offered these to the child they went their way. And having heard the matter the race of the Jews rejoiced with great joy. And after thirty years a letter came from Jerusalem from Annas the priest to the father of my mother, Elios, that the child Jesus presented by the Magi having become a man called himself Son of God. Come ye who are able that we may execute on him the law of<sup>28</sup> Moses, slaying him.

And Elios the priest departed being skilled in the law, of the family of Eliazar, of the stock of the house of Heli. And he had a mother of the same stock, who charged him, saying : Have no share, my son, in the counsels of the Jews. For he is the message of the prophets and the hidden meaning of the law and the word of the living God. There set out with him also Lounkianus of Karsni, and they came and arrived on the day of the crucifixion. And when the executioner drove in the nails he startled the mother of Ilios because of the prophecy therein, and she said : Unto the peace of the Gentiles, yonder the king of Israel, Saviour of the world. And three times, Woe unto you, slayers of your maker ! But pity thou us, Lord our God.

And then she rested (i. e. died) having believed in Christ in that hour.

But the seamless tunic fell by lot to the Jews of Mtzkhet'ha ;

29 and Ilios brought and bore it to his house. And his sister went out to meet him, and taking (the garment) kissed it and laid it on her bosom ; and gave up her spirit, having three reasons from Christ, the death of the Lord, and her mother's death, and her brother's accord with the Jews.

And Adrik was king of the Georgians, and on hearing of it wondered ; yet did not wish to keep for himself the tunic of one dead. And they kept it beneath the cedar tree of which the original shoot had been brought from Lebanon. And lo, the house of Ilios, which lies west of the bridge of the Magi <sup>1</sup>.

When all the Jews heard this, they were ashamed in themselves, and designed to stone him ; because being expert in his wisdom he truly proved from the Old Testament the divinity of Christ to be glorified with Father and with Spirit. And the king having heard the uproar of the Jews bore hardly on them, and bade them not to hinder that preaching in his land. For he had heard of the wonders which had occurred in Armenia and in Rome.

## CHAPTER X.

Then Saint Nouni ventured boldly by means of her disciples who believed to disseminate the faith of Christ by divers signs, which she wrought with the figured cross. And she saw three times in her light sleeping on her knees flocks  
30 of black-hued birds descend into the river and issue up again out of it having become white and go into the garden, where they browsed on its flowers. And they would cull a little therefrom and give it to the master of the flower-garden. And she related her dream to Abiathar's daughter, and she said : O new-comer and sojourner, that makest (us) heirs of the garden and tree of life, thine are the good-tidings of our fathers and the work of the heavenly man Jesus and of his innocent blood. But do thou, Jerusalem, spread out thy wings, and gather together those who have won a portion in the heavenly one ; with whom thou wilt also muster us

<sup>1</sup> The Armenian has *Mogtha*, which is the Georgian *gen. pl.*

by the hand of this holy woman, who makes of this spot a garden of delight.

So Saint Nouni increased in self-denial and in continual prayer, and the Gentiles marvelled at her endurance.

In those days a certain woman was going around with her child that was ill with an incurable disease, in hope of finding some one to save the child by device of drugs. And she was herself of evil life and a blasphemer of Christ, and she kept back many from the preaching of Nouni. Yet when she was at an end of all other means, she took and cast the child before Saint Nouni. And the Saint said: Human art of healing I have not, but only my Christ, maker of things visible and invisible. And she laid the child on her mattress and signed it with the cross, saying: My God Jesus, King eternal, heal this child in the name of thy power, that the Gentiles may know that thou art the giver of life to the race of men, who are verily thy creatures; and owe to thee worship and honour and glory everlasting, Amen.

And having said this she gave the child healed and beautified and full of joy to the woman. And she said: There is no God, except thyself, O Christ, lord and ruler of life and death. She departed gladly and told it to all. Then she returned to Nouni and departed not from her.

In those days the queen Nana fell into an incurable sickness; and all who were skilled in the art of healing confessed their defeat, saying, It is impossible that this sickness should be healed by man. And they told the queen about Nouni, and she sent to have her brought to her. And they went and found her at prayer in the thicket of the grove of tamarisks before the cross. And they told her the queen's message. But she said to them: In this hour I let not my heart decline from my Lord. If she desire it, she will come to us. And the royal lady having heard said, Take me up and carry me to her. There went forth after her a great multitude of men and women, and they took and laid her on Nouni's mattress. And she prayed for long and laid her cross upon her square-ways, and in that hour she sat up having been healed. And she arose from the place and went to her house, glorifying Christ God, along with all the multitude. And thenceforth

she was a disciple of the truth and learned the laws of Christ from Saint Nouni and from Abiathar the priest, who also was called Paul in his believing.

- 33 But the king Mihran was full of wonder, and asked of Paul, how God became man, and what were these teachings and the name of Christianity. And he told him as best he could everything in order. And Mihran had a book which told all about the race of Nebrowth<sup>1</sup>, and the building of Qalenê; and he had it brought before him, and having read it, he found in it the following passage:—

When they began to build the tower and city Qalenê, there came a voice from on high, which said: I am Miqayel (i.e. Michael), ruler of the eastern parts. Abandon that which ye build, for God will destroy it. Nathless in the last times cometh the king heavenly; and he fulfilleth that for which ye long. And they behold the undespised despised among the peoples, and his love driveth out the fair-seeming of the world. For kings forsake their kingdoms and love poverty, and not that glory which thou seekest, O Nebrowth.

And having read this, the king fell into deep thought, and marvelled that the inner and outer books testify of Christ. But he could not forsake the ancestral cult to which he was accustomed—the sun and fire, and Aramazd and other idols.

- In those days a Magian kinsman of the king fell sick; and Mihran said to Saint Nouni: Thou art a daughter of Aramazd or else the seed of Zadên, who have brought thee hither as a stranger and vouchsafed to thee power of healing, that thou  
34 mayest glorify thyself. Now therefore work the cure of this my familiar friend by their name, nor make thyself a mistaken reciter of the faith of the Iaones. For although Throudjan, the god of the Persians, with cloud and hail hath routed and carried them away, yet the place is sure; and such war is a habit of the world-swayers. Nay there remain also the old gods of our fathers, Gayim and Gatzim, and they are

<sup>1</sup> The Book of Nimrod is more than once referred to in the letter of Paul of Taron against Theopistus the Greek; this letter is a monument of the eleventh century, at which time this apocryph still circulated among Armenians; in whose literature or in the Georgian it may yet be discovered. Mr. Rendel Harris states that in an Arabic MS. of Mount Sinai, No. 435, is contained 'The history of Nimrod.' This is probably the apocryph in question.

the shooters forth of the sun's rays, and the givers of rain, and those that cause the works of the field to bear fruit.

The saint made answer and said : I am a captive woman, a creature and a worshipper of the invisible and unknown godhead of Father and Son and Holy Spirit, that is creator of heaven and earth. Who because of his great mercy, giveth life to the despisers of himself and nurture and honour, even as unto thyself. For he hath given to thee mind and words, for thee to know the height of heaven and the positions of the stars and the depth of the sea and the breadth of the earth ; and through these things shalt thou know him who governs and adjusts them. And I declare to thee that the infinite (lit. unreachable) greatness that robes the heaven with vapours and thunders with the voice of the winds and by means of the great leviathan<sup>1</sup> shakes the whole earth, He <sup>35</sup> came down from the heights above in lowliness, and took on himself our nature. He accomplished the period of thirty and three years. And by a senseless race he was rejected and crucified, of his own will and not under constraint. And on the third day he arose and ascended into heaven. And he sent preachers into the world, to believe in his name and live in the worship of God, forsaking vain idols. This is the gospel which I preach to thee, that thou mayest believe, if I should work aught, that it is by his name. And there lies hidden here a raiment of his ; and as they say the sheepskin mantle of Elias who saw God is here. And that you may clearly learn what I say, bring to me the magus of Khorasan, the enemy of the truth. And he shall deny his heresy and in faith profess whatever I give him to say.

And when they had brought him to her there in the garden, below the cedar tree, she turned him to the west<sup>2</sup> and made him say three times : I renounce thee, Satan. And then she turned him to the east and made him say : I throw myself on thee, holy Trinity, and I turn my face to thee, O crucified God.

And Nouni wept and traced on him the figure of the Lord's cross. And there went forth from him the evil spirit

<sup>1</sup> Arm. kitos, i.e. *κῆτος*.

<sup>2</sup> This detail, absent in the Georgian, is surely an addition of the Armenian translator.

like smoke. And the man was made whole of the demon and of his sufferings, and believed in Christ with all his household. And the onlookers glorified the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever, Amen.

After this the king went out to hunt towards Mukh-narn. . . .

(The episode which follows is told almost exactly as in pp. 35 foll. I only give the more important differences of the text page by page.)

- 36 P. 36. Omit words 'Let us see Nana . . . be destroyed.'

Ibid. For 'whence he saw' Arm. has 'that they might see.'

Ibid. 'The darkness seized.'] Arm. 'Panic fell on them.'

Ibid. 'Lo, I have called' . . .] 'The Arm. has the prayer thus: 'Jesus Christ, God of Nouni, win me to thee as thy servant and rescue my soul from hell. For my gods have not been able to help me; and I believe that thou art able, and thine is day and night. O crucified Lord, with thy cross make me alive. For I think that this darkness is not over all, but over us alone who after the advent of the light do still love darkness.

And when he had said this the sun beamed forth with a bright sky. And his soldiers found him. And dismounting they fell on their faces and worshipped the crucified one, saying: 'Thou art God.' . . .

- 37 P. 37, l. 7 from foot of page. 'He went towards. . .'] Arm. has: 'They went to her and fell down and worshipped her. But she took them firmly, raised them up and turned them towards the east.'

P. 37, last line. 'The next day . . .'] Arm. has as follows:

- 38 'Then Saint Nouni writes before (them) a letter to Helena the royal lady of Rome, and Mihran to the great Constantine, saying: The Lord hath visited the house of the Wirq in his great pity. So do ye send us priests to give us life by water and Spirit. But Saint Nouni herself did not rest from preaching along with twelve women, who were ever with her. And after that the king bethought him of building a church, before the priests should come. And they went into the garden and cut down the cedar tree, and fashioned out of it

six pillars, and they laid the foundations and raised aloft the six pillars. But the seventh, which was biggest of all, they could not move from its place, in spite of their numbers and of the contrivances of machines, until sunset. And then 39 they left it and went away in great wonder. But Saint Nouni with the twelve remained there for the night and prayed with tears. And at midnight there was panic and shocks and thunders, as if the two mountains Armaz and Zadê were crumbling, and the two rivers, the Kour and Arag, were committing havoc and being turned back on the city and fortress. And the women with Nouni were affrighted and began to flee. But the saint said: Fear not, for this is delusion and not real. For the mountains stand firm, and the rivers run in their courses, and in peace sleep the men of the city. But disbelief that was massive as a mountain hath truly crumbled; and the blood of children offered to the idols is forthwith turned back. That is what the rivers signify. And the voices of lamentation are the foul demons that led astray now mourning their destruction. And having said this she exhorted them to diligence, but herself poured out fountains of tears. And before it was yet cock-crow, there was a turmoil and noise of shouting, as if a heavy force were investing the city and took it and overthrew it; and as if the command were given in a voice of power, saying: Khora the sovereign of the Persians gives you the command, and the king of kings Khorakhosrow commandeth. Ye Jews, 40 away with you, scatter and die not. And again (was heard a voice): Mihran the sovereign is slain.

But the blessed lady spread her arms out and said: Depart ye into outer darkness. Lo, the crucified one, your slayer, is come. Go ye unto the region of the north. And in that very hour they disappeared. And close upon dawn appeared a youth all fiery, hidden in unapproachable light, who spoke unto Saint Nina (*sic*) three words. And then he went to the pillar and raised it aloft.

And a certain woman, Sidina <sup>1</sup> by name, saw it all, for she had gone out to Ninau, and she said: What is this, holy

<sup>1</sup> Sidonia is elsewhere the spelling used. It is impossible to say whether the variations of spelling of proper names observable in the Armenian, and kept by



dame. But she answered : Hold thy peace and pray. And lo, they saw the pillar enkindled with light. Gently it came  
 41 down into the (place) cut away at its root.

And at daybreak came the sovereign and a great crowd along with him ; and they saw that the pillar had shot up, and had come without (work of) hand, and was fixed firm upon its basis. And they lifted up their voices and gave glory to God.

And on that day were many miracles wrought in that place. For there was a Jew blind from birth. They brought him near the column, and his eyes were instantly opened. And then one of the princes, Hamazaspuni, eight years old, a paralytic, was brought by his mother and laid before the pillar on his mattress, and she prayed Ninau for the salvation of the child. And she stretched out her hand to the column, then laid it on the child, and said : Jesus Christ, who camest in the flesh for the salvation of the world, help this child. And at once the child arose and stood upon its feet. And all the multitude who saw this gave praise to God ; and fear fell upon all. And the king made a covering for the pillar, and  
 42 they completed the church, building it to the glory of God.

## CHAPTER XI.

But the emperor Constantine, when he saw the messengers of Mihran, was delighted at the conversion of the Wirq to Christ, the more so because he trusted that they had for good broken off their alliance with the Persians. Likewise also the royal lady Helena. And they glorified God, and sent a bishop called John, and two priests and three deacons, and a cross with them and a saving picture. And they came and illumined with baptism the king and his wife and children and famous men, in a place which is called *Moktha*, and the place was called the Light-giving of the headmen.  
 43 And all the Wirq were baptized, except the Mthevouli<sup>1</sup> and

me in translating, is due to the Georgian original or simply to the Armenian tradition. If they stood in the former they might be held to indicate a translation from a language like Syriac or Hebrew, in which the vowels were not expressed.

<sup>1</sup> The Georgian has 'the Mthiuli in the Caucasus,' which is probably the right text.

the Kowkas and the Jews in Mtzkhet'ha. But of the Barabbeans were baptized fifty men ; and the king loved them and gave them Diditzikhê. But Pheroz, who had the house of Rhana as far as Partav, who was son-in-law of Mihran hearkened not to the word of life. And Mihran sent John (Hovhannês) the bishop and a leading man with him to Constantine, and asked for a great number of priests and a piece of the cross of the Lord and for stone-cutters to build churches. And he sent all he asked for and the board of the feet of the Lord, and the nails of the hands, along with furniture and treasure to expend, in order that in his name they might build a church in the land of Kharthli.

And the bishop came to the country of Oushêth and laid 44 the foundation of a church, and there placed the nails and left there builders and treasure. And they went on to Manklis, and there he laid the foundation of a church, and there placed the holy board. And the king heard, and was grieved at their placing the pieces elsewhere than in his royal city, and at the envoys not coming there first. But Saint Ninau said : Take it not amiss, O king, for in all places it is meet to sow the name of the Lord. And here there is preserved great holiness and a memorial of the Lord, the holy tunic. And the king heard from Abiathar all the description of the tunic, and glorified Christ saying : Blessed is the Lord God, who rescued it from his hated enemies the Jews and bestowed it on us aliens afar off in his mercy.

And then the stone-cutters began on the coming of the bishop to build a church outside the city, where is now the bishop's house. And Saint Ninau spoke at the beginning of the work as follows :—

Distributor of glory, Christ, Son of God ; thou didst come in thy fullness and power to the race of David. And from 45 an only-begotten mother wast born the only-begotten God, Light of all, image of the Father, who as in need thereof didst receive baptism by water and by Spirit, wast crucified and buried in the heart of the earth, didst rise on the third day, ascendedst into heaven, and comest to judge the quick and the dead. Do thou become shelter and rampart of all who have hoped in thee ; and to thee praise for ever, Amen.

- And some related in that same hour to the bishop that at the foot of a little hill there is a beautiful and fragrant tree; and by the same are healed fawns wounded by the huntsmen, when they strip off and eat its leaves or fruit. And he said to them: Verily this land is ever cared for by the Lord even before it knew him. And the bishop took Rêw the king's son and went and cut down the tree, branches and all, and brought it into the city, on the 25th of March on a Friday. And it was covered with leaves. And they set it up at the door of the
- 46 church, and for thirty and seven days it kept from withering as if it grew from its own root. And on the first of May they fashioned three crosses. One of them they set up. And in full view of all the people, there came down from heaven a luminous cross, crowned with stars, and invested the wooden one till the dawn of the morrow. And then two stars came forth, one flying eastwards, and one westwards. And Saint Ninau said: Go ye up into high places and find out whither the
- 47 stars go. And they went up and saw that the one star shone on the top of the mountain Thkhothi, which runs out to Kasb, and the other in the land of Kakhethi in Daba. And they took the two crosses, and set them up in the places which the Lord pointed out by the glancing stars. But the chief cross they set up on a rock, which lies opposite the city.
- 48 And they ordained the day of the great Zadik as the feast of
- 49 the cross for all the house of Kharthli, eight days. And after the days, again the cross gleamed with light and burst out aflame on the fourth day of the week, having on its head a wreath of twelve stars. And at sight of these wonders all the heathen turned to the Lord and were baptized; and being strengthened in the faith gave praise to God out of reverence for the holy cross. For like carbuncles in ores, angels of God hovered round the cross and went up over it.
- 50 In those days the son of Rêw . . . ' (The Armenian continues in agreement with the Georgian as translated above, with the following exceptions):
- P. 50. 'Raised the canopy'] 'raised a marble canopy.'  
 Ibid. 'And in consequence . . . cross of Christ'] omit.
- 51 P. 51. 'And it helped . . . always and for ever'] omit.  
 Ibid. 'In those days,' &c.] The Armenian is as follows:

‘In those days the emperor Constantine sent a deacon, who had a letter from the race of Branji, who had been illumined by her father. For they heard that among Armenians and Wirq there beamed forth the sun of righteousness with effulgent sheen, and that mighty works of God were manifested among them. . . .’

P. 52. ‘Nino answered,’ &c.] Armenian runs thus: 52

But Saint Nouni hindered them, saying: The Lord came not with sword and bow, but with cross and gospel. And the bishop and Ninau went off, and the king with them, to Tsrbin, to Dsharthal, to Thkhela, to Tsilkasn, to Góramaλr. But they received not the word of the Lord. And they went down to Jalêth and to Ertsoyth and preached there. And they heard and were baptized. And the Phkhatziq left their land and went to Thoshêth. And many of the mountaineers remain to this day in idolatry. And Saint Ninau went off 53 into the land of Rana to preach to Pheroz, and tarried hard by the marches of Koukhethi and there fell ill. And Rêw, son of the king, and Solomê his wife, who were in Oudjarma, came to see her. And the king heard and sent the bishop to 54 bring her to Mtzkhet’ha, but she would not come. Then 55 went to her the king and his wife, and Peloujawr Siunetzi, and a number of congregations, and they sat round her and wept.

But she looked up to heaven with unwavering eyes, full of joy. Then the queens said to her: Holy mother, as we heard from thee, the Son of God had multitudes of prophets, and his were also twelve apostles and seventy-two disciples, and of them not one was sent to us, but only thyself, holy dame. Now then tell us the details of thy birth and thy nurture [with us]. And the Saint said to them:—

Since ye would be informed about the suffering handmaid of Christ, who henceforth calls me to himself and to my mother unto eternity; and I have related it into the ears of Solomê, daughter of the king of Armenia, a short sketch of my coming hither: have brought papers and ink<sup>1</sup>, and write it

<sup>1</sup> In the Armenian *Quartês yev melan*, that is *chartas* and *μέλας*. These words were used in Armenia in the tenth century to signify writing material. Even if the same words had stood in the Georgian text of Djouanahér they would not necessarily imply that that text was a translation from Greek. The use of the Latin names for the months points rather to a Latin original.

down from her lips. And as for the rest ye know it of yourselves, since ye have heard and seen it. And may the peace of the Lord be with you. And I commit unto you Jacob the priest, who shall be bishop after John by the call of the Spirit.

And after that she caused the bishop John to offer the sacrifice and she communicated in the holy sacrament. And having entrusted herself to the heavenly king, she ended her life in Christ. And she was buried in the same place in the  
 56 332nd year of the ascension of the Lord, and from the departure of Adam from the garden in the 5832nd year, in the fifteenth year after her entry into Qarthl.

But the emperor Constantine wrote a letter to Mihran, and released his son Bahqar, who was with him as a hostage. And he said:

I Constantine Autocrat, new servant of Jesus Christ, by him liberated from the captivity of Satan, have sent to thee Mihran,  
 57 king of the Wirq, thy son. For our Lord will be a guarantee between us for thy remaining loyal and obedient to us. And he doth drive out the scheming *Dev* from thy marches.

So Mihran held great rejoicings with Nana the mother of the child and with all the land to the glory of God.

After that he finished the church of the bishopric and filled it with ornaments. And in those days died Rêw his son, having lived thirty-four years. And in the same year King Mihran fell sick; and called his son, and, after placing the crown on the cross, he then took it thence and placed it on his head, enjoining upon him piety and the ordinances of religion. And he said to his wife: Go thou, and dwell in the tomb of the holy Nouni, and there live. And build a church and honour the spot, and distribute our goods to the poor, dividing them in twain. And behold I go whence I came. And I thank God who hath turned my darkness into light and death into life and left into right. And do ye be diligent and destroy the idols which remain. And the Lord Almighty shall be with you. And having said this he slept. And in the third year after him the queen Nana went to her repose in the Lord.

II.

TEXTS FROM MOUNT ATHOS

[KIRSOPP LAKE.]



# TEXTS FROM MOUNT ATHOS.



## PREFACE.

THE material which is given and discussed in the following pages is the result of a visit which Mr. G. A. Wathen and myself paid to Mount Athos in the summer of 1899. This visit was undertaken primarily to photograph a MS. of the LXX for the use of the Cambridge editors, and secondarily to inspect and study New Testament and Patristic MSS. For these purposes grants were made by the Trustees of the Revision Surplus Fund at Oxford and of the Hort Fund at Cambridge, to whose liberality I owe a deep debt of gratitude, as I also do to the private generosity of the Regius and Margaret Professors of Theology at Oxford and of Mr. Conybeare.

Our trip was exceedingly enjoyable, and we were able to do a considerable amount of work, thanks to the kindness of His Holiness the Patriarch of Constantinople and of the *Koivóνης* of the monks, who gave us letters of commendation. We also received great hospitality and help from the governing bodies of the monasteries at which we stayed, especially valuable to us being that of Father Chrysostom of the Laura, who most liberally lent us books of reference from his private library and assisted us on many occasions by his great knowledge of the beautiful MSS. which are under his charge.



We were much impressed by the number and beauty of the MSS. which we saw at the Laura. To find that there are still more than 200 MSS. of the Gospels uncatalogued by Gregory and uncollated, 120 of them being vellum MSS. earlier than the fifteenth century, is a surprise, and this feeling is increased if it be remembered that there is also a similar, though not quite so great a mass of MSS. of patristic literature which we were unable, for lack of time, even to take down from their shelves. It is a pity that the catalogue of the Laura made by Father Chrysostom is not accessible in the West, as though still unfinished it is very accurate and valuable. Lambros' catalogue does not, and probably never will, include the Laura library.

Next to the Laura in importance come the libraries at Ivéron and Pantocrator. Ivéron is especially enriched by a collection of Georgian MSS., some of which we photographed for Mr. Conybeare.

We were much assisted at Ivéron by the kindness of the Cambridge University Press, which had given us the sheets of the then unpublished second volume of the catalogue of Spyr. P. Lambros.

Vatopédi, the next in value, has a large and well-arranged library, but the excessive care which the monks bestow upon it renders it difficult to study adequately the nature of its contents.

We also visited the monasteries of St. Dionysius, St. Gregory, and St. Panteleemon (Russico) and the Russian skete of St. Andrew. All these monasteries have libraries, and the MSS. which we saw are noted and described in the catalogue on p. 170. But none of them approach the Laura collection of MSS. in value, and at St. Dionysius and St. Gregory work is not easy. The Russian monasteries have naturally not the wealth of MSS. possessed by the old Greek foundations, but they are delightfully hospitable and anxious to help the traveller in every possible way, and one of the most pleasant evenings which we enjoyed on the mountain was

spent on the balcony of Russico, chatting with Father Cyprian, and watching the last rays of the sun just catch the top of Olympos nearly 100 miles away.

The following pages contain with introductory remarks:—

- i. Description of codex  $\Psi$ .
- ii. The text of codex  $\Psi$  in St. Mark.
- iii. A collation of codex  $\Psi$  in St. Luke and St. John and in the Epistle to the Colossians.
- iv. A collation of codex 1071.
- v. Some chapters of a codex of the Acta Pilati.
- vi. A fragment of the Acta Thomae.
- vii. A catalogue and description of the Biblical MSS. which we examined.

It is hoped that the last item (in which the great kindness of Dr. Gregory has enabled me to print the numbers which he intends to use for the new MSS.), especially so far as it refers to the library of the Laura, may be useful to scholars visiting Mount Athos until a final and complete catalogue be issued.

## I. DESCRIPTION OF CODEX Ψ.

Codex Ψ was first seen by Dr. C. R. Gregory on August 26, 1886, but he was unable to do more than describe it and glance through it. The description and notes which he gives are as follows:—

Ψ. Athous Laurae  
saec. VIII vel IX, 21 cm × 15.3 cm, membr, foll. 261, col. 1 (15 cm × 8.7 cm), ll. 31; litterarum altitudo .0175; litterae maiores nigrae; atramentum suffusum; litterae supra lineas; capp-tab; Amm (Mc 233: 16,8), Eus, lect; mus in lect eccles, subscriptiones simplices; fasciculi α—η desunt; fasciculus κς̄ habet nonnisi septem folia, sed nihil textus deest; fasciculo ultimo μᾱ exciderunt folia primum et octavum?

continet *Mc* 9,5 καὶ μωσῇ μίαν—finem *Lc Io* | *Act* | *1.2 Pe Iac 1.2.3 Io Iud Rom—Philem Hebr*—8, 11 καὶ οὐ μὴ | folium excidit | *Hebr* 9,19 ὑπὸ μωνσέωσ—subscr *Hebr*.

Mc 16,8 ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ: ⲁ

Πάντα δὲ τὰ παρηγγελμένα τοῖς περὶ τὸν

πέτρον συντόμωσ. ἐξήγγειλαν: Μετὰ

Δὲ ταῦτα. καὶ αὐτὸς τῷ ἐφάνη ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς

καὶ μέχρι δύσεως ἐξαπέστειλεν δι' αὐτῶν

τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἄφθαρτον κήρυγμα τῆς αἰῶ

νίου σωτηρίας ἀμήν:

ἔστιν καὶ ταῦτα φερόμενα

μετὰ τὸ ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ.

Ἀναστὰς δὲ κ. τ. λ. usque ad versum 20

et sub finem εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ μάρκον.

In codice nostro Marci evangelium eodem fere modo finitur qui e codice L notissimus est; id vero interest quod nihil adnotationis ante πάντα δὲ noster interponit, quod antiquiorem sibi vindicare fontem videretur, nisi fortasse vocabula ἐφάνη, μέχρι, ἀμήν seriore textus conformationem testarentur. Vix est quod dicam Ἀ (τέλος) post ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ: lectionis ecclesiasticae neque vero ipsius evangelii finem indicare. Tituli pariter atque subscriptiones librorum prorsus simplices sunt; sub finem tamen evangelii Iohannis additur: εὐαγγελιστῶν τεσσάρων θείοι λόγοι γραφέντες, ὧδε λήξω ἔσχον τῶν πόνων. Lectorem non latebit Iacobum post epistolam Petri alteram stare, neque id casu, nam desinit Act liber fasc. κζ', fol. 8 recto, et 1 Petr incipit eodem folio verso. Ioh 7,53—8,11 deest. Act 20,28 legit codex τοῦ κυρίου. 1 Io 5,7.8 deest. 1 Tim 3,16 θεὸς ἐφανερώθη.

Perlustravi die 26 mensis Augusti anni 1886. Spero fore ut codicem accuratius excutere possim.

Since 1886 it has been seen but not studied by Dr. Rendel Harris in 1892 when he was inspecting the LXX MSS. in the monasteries of Mount Athos, and by a German scholar, whose name I have unfortunately forgotten, who has left a note in the visitors' book at the Laura to the effect that all the MSS. are of the ordinary type except B 52 and a few others which resemble the KII family. He has not noted that B 52 is cod. Ψ. Probably the MS. has also been seen by various other visitors, but it does not appear to have been studied.

So far as description goes there is nothing to add to Dr. Gregory's account beyond the fact that Ψ is now numbered 172 (B 52) in the Laura catalogue, and I trust that that scholar will not regard as impertinent an expression of admiration for the general accuracy of his summary descriptions, in cases where he is speaking from his own knowledge.

Probably few would dissent from Dr. Gregory's opinion

that the MS. is of the eighth or ninth century, though perhaps the former date is somewhat the more probable.

Mr. Wathen and myself photographed all that remains of the Gospels, not touching the Acts or Epistles because we understood that Herr Lic. von der Goltz and Dr. Wobbermin had collated these for Dr. von Soden, and had found the text ordinary. Mr. Wathen, in order to be satisfied as to the correctness of this judgement, collated the Epistle to the Colossians.

The collation of these photographs, which are now in the Bodleian Library (MS. Gr. Bibl. f. 2) shows that in the Gospels cod.  $\Psi$  presents an interesting and valuable text in Mark, and an ordinary text though with some interesting variants in Luke and John. It has therefore been thought best to treat these two parts separately and to print the text of Mark in full, with an introductory analysis of the important readings it contains, but the text of Luke and John in the form of a collation with the Textus Receptus. Mr. Wathen's collation of the Epistle to the Colossians is also printed in the latter way.

## II. TEXT OF COD. Ψ IN ST. MARK.

IN attempting to analyse the text of a MS. of the gospel the critic is met at the outset with some difficulty in choosing a standard of comparison.

In many ways the best standard is the *Textus Receptus* as it represents a late and popular text, deviation from, and not agreement with which is important. But owing to the peculiarly mixed character of this text its use is sometimes misleading, and it is therefore advisable to use a purer text which is 'truer to type,' and less mixed in character. This is especially the case when the MS. which has to be analysed appears to possess a good and early text.

I propose therefore in the following pages to use the text of Westcott and Hort as a standard of comparison, because whether it be the true text or not it certainly is constructed on such principles as to present a uniform type throughout, and I shall also give a short list of readings compared with the *Textus Receptus*, the importance of which would otherwise be obscured by the method adopted. I propose to draw a distinction which is arbitrary but convenient between readings found in the *Textus Receptus* and those which are not, because a reading which is found in the *Textus Receptus*, even though there be early authority for it, may have come into the text of any given MS. at a late period owing to the wide prevalence of that form of text.

The classification, then, will be as follows:—

1. Readings where cod. Ψ agrees with the *Textus Receptus*.
2. Readings where cod. Ψ has a text for which the oldest

authority seems to be either D or the Old Latin version and which is not in the Textus Receptus or in the Old Syriac.

3. Readings shared with the Old Syriac against D, the Old Latin, and the Textus Receptus.
4. Readings found in both the Old Latin and Old Syriac but not in the Textus Receptus.
5. Readings found in a small group of Uncials of which L $\Delta$  are the most prominent members.
6. Readings in which cod.  $\Psi$  supports WH in following a small group of Greek MSS. including B.
7. Peculiar readings.

The authorities which are quoted for the readings mentioned are for the most part taken from Tischendorf's critical edition, but they have been added to in places from Mrs. Lewis' translation of the Sinaitic palimpsest<sup>1</sup> and a few other editions of MSS. which were not accessible to Tischendorf. It should also be noticed that Gregory's notation of minuscules has been adopted throughout, and that therefore the following MSS. appear under a different symbol to that employed by Tischendorf.

472 = c <sup>scr</sup>	482 = p <sup>scr</sup>
475 = f <sup>scr</sup>	565 = 2 <sup>po</sup> (WH's 81)
477 = i <sup>scr</sup>	84 evgst = y <sup>scr</sup>
478 = k <sup>scr</sup>	

1. *Readings in cod.  $\Psi$  agreeing with the Textus Receptus, merely orthographical variants being neglected.*

**Marc IX 7** *post νεφέλης add. λέγουσα* c. ADL( $\Delta$ ) 1 13-69-124-346 28 33 *al.*; lat-vet &c. **18** *ἀν* *pro* ἐὰν c. CDLN &c. **23** *δύνασαι πιστεῦσαι* c. ADN *al. pl.*; a b c f i *al. syrr* (pesh-hl) **24** *ante* εἰθὺς *add. καὶ* c. ADN &c. **29** *post προσευχῇ add. καὶ νηστεία* c. N<sup>cb</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I am deeply indebted to Mr. W. C. Allen for very kindly revising my references to this authority.

ACDL *al. omn. exc.*  $\aleph^{*etca}$  B; k 30 *παρεπορεύοντο* c. codd *omn. exc.* B\*<sup>D</sup> 42 *post πιστευόντων add. eis émé* c. BLN *éc.*

X 6 *post αἰτοὺς add. ὁ Θεός* c. ADN *al. pler.*; latt syrr 21 *σοι pro σε* c. DN *al. pler.*; Clem 25 *εἰσελθεῖν pro διελθεῖν* c.  $\aleph$ ANΔ *al. pler.*; latt 34 *post ἀποκτενοῦσιν add. αἰτόν* c. ACN; lat-vet boh pesh; Orig 35 *δύο* c.  $\aleph$ DL *éc.* 35 *αὐτῷ posterius om.* c. AN *al. pler.*; bikcfq 40 *post εὐωνύμων add. μου* c. min *pauc.*; syrr (sin-pesh) aeth

XI 3 *post εἶπατε add. ὅτι* c.  $\aleph$ C DL *éc.* 15 *ante ἀγοράζοντας add. τοὺς* c. DΔ *al. pl.*; Orig<sup>bis</sup> 23 *post αὐτῷ add. ὁ ἐὰν εἶπῃ* c. AN *al. pler.*; a k q 30 *ante Ἰωάννου om.* τὸ c.  $\aleph$ PIIX *éc.*

XII 9 *post τί add. οὖν* c.  $\aleph$ CΔΔ *éc.* 37 *υἱὸς ante αὐτοῦ* c.  $\aleph$ AX *éc.*

XIII 31 *οὐ μὴ παρέλθωσιν* c. ACΔΔ *éc.* 32 *post ἄγγελοι add. οἱ* c. ACΔ *éc.*

XIV 9 *post εὐαγγέλιον add. τοῦτο* c. ACΔ *al. pl.*; l q sah boh pesh 21 *ἦν post καλὸν* c.  $\aleph$ ACD *éc.* 22 *post λαβὼν add. ὁ Ἰησοῦς* c.  $\aleph^{et o}$  LΔ *éc.* 30 *μὲ post ἀπαρνήσῃ* c. ANX *éc.* - 38 *εἰσέλθῃτε* c.  $\aleph^{o}$ CLΔ *éc.* 44 *ἀπαγάγετε* c. ACNΔ *éc.* 53 *post συνέρχονται add. αὐτῷ* c. BN *éc.* 60 *ante μέσον add. τὸ* c. DM *al. mu.*; boh 71 *ὁμνίειν pro ὁμνῖναι* c.  $\aleph$ CΔ *éc.* 72 *om. εὐθὺς* c. ACΔ *al. pler.*; sah boh syr-sin.

XV 6 *ὥνπερ ἡτοῦντο* c.  $\aleph^{o}$ CN *éc.* 8 *ἀναβοήσας* 12 *εἶπεν pro ἔλεγεν* c. ADN *éc.* 23 *ὁ pro ὅς* c. ACLΔ *éc.* 40 *ἦν post αἷς* c. ACΔΔ *éc.* 45 *σῶμα pro πτώμα* c. ACΔ latt 46 *μνημείῳ pro μνήματι* c. ACDLΔ *éc.*

XVI 17 *παρακολουθήσει* c. AD<sup>suppl</sup>Δ *éc.* 20 *add. ἀμήν* c. CLΔ *éc.*

It is only necessary to make two observations on this list. (a) Very nearly all these readings are attested by authorities of such age and character as to show that they were in use at a very early period. (β) They are wonderfully few in reality, as the Textus Receptus differs in about 480 places from the text of WH. in these chapters, and therefore one would on *a priori* principles have been inclined to expect more than forty-two such readings in a MS. which belongs to so comparatively late a period as the eighth century.



2. Readings found in either D or the Old Latin, but not in Textus Receptus, or in the Old Syriac <sup>1</sup>.

**IX 12** πρῶτος *pro* πρῶτον c. D<sup>ex</sup> N<sup>c</sup> Δ<sup>ex</sup> N, 482 1071 **30** ἦθε-  
λον *pro* ἦθελεν c. a b k **49** ἀναλωθήσεται *pro* ἀλλ' ἀλισθήσεται  
cf. k omnia autem substantia consumitur

**X 5** ἀντὶ τὴν ἐντολὴν *add.* Μωυσῆς c. D; k c f g<sub>2</sub>; Clem **24** τεκνία  
*pro* τέκνα c. AN, 1-118-209 700 *al. pauc.*; a b ff<sub>2</sub> f

**XI 14** φάγη *pro* φάγοι c. DV, 1 13-69-346 *al. pauc.*; Orig<sup>bis</sup>  
**17** ὅτι *om.* c. DC, 69 472 478; a k i q ff<sub>2</sub>, arm-codd, aeth **21** ἐξη-  
ράνθη c. DLΔN, 1-118-209 33 700 *al. pauc.* Orig

**XII 33** περισσότερα *pro* περισσότερον cf. k meliora (*nec aliunde  
reperit. forma pluralis*)

**XIII 14** ἐστηκός *pro* ἐστηκότα c. D, 28 **20** ὁ θεός *hoc  
loco pro* κύριος c. c k ff<sub>2</sub>; Promiss

**XIV 7** ποιῆν *pro* ποιῆσαι D\*Δ, *al. pauc.* **20** λέγει *pro* εἶπεν  
c. D, 565 700; k **36** τοῦτο *ante* τὸ ποτήριον c. DN, 1-118-  
209; a q; Hil **65** προφήτευσον ἡμῖν c. F<sup>w</sup>; k c f

**XV 29** οὐὰ *om.* c. N<sup>ca</sup> LΔ<sup>ex</sup>; d k

**XVI 3** ἀπὸ *pro* ἐκ c. DC, *al. pauc.*; Eus-dem Serv-Ant  
**9** πάντα δὲ κ. τ. λ. c. L<sup>7</sup> p, 274<sup>ms</sup>; k, syr-hl-mg boh-cod aeth-codd

3. Readings found in the Old Syriac but not in the best Uncials, the Old Latin, D, or the Textus Receptus. Those readings which are found in a few secondary Greek MSS. as well as the Old Syriac are included in this list.

**X 39** λέγουσιν *pro* εἶπον c. syr-sin **40** *post* εὐωνύμων *add.*  
μον c. min *pauc.*; syrr (sin-pesh) aeth **47** Ἰησοῦ *om.* c. L, *al. pauc.*;  
i mt syr-sin; Clem Orig

**XI 27** προσῆλθον αὐτῷ *pro* ἔρχονται πρὸς αὐτὸν c. syr-sin

**XII 1** *post* περιέθηκεν *add.* αὐτῷ c. C<sup>2</sup>N, 28 565 syrr (sin-hl c  
obel.) sah arm; Orig

**XIII 11** προσμελετᾶτε *pro* προμεριμνᾶτε c. syr-sin *sed* syr-sin  
μελετᾶτε *potius quam* προσμελετᾶτε *transferre videtur*

**XV 26** γεγραμμένη *pro* ἐπιγεγραμμένη c. syr-sin

<sup>1</sup> It is of course impossible to be quite certain in the case of small variants, especially those which bear on a question of order, whether a reading is in the Old Syriac or not.

4. Readings found in both the Old Latin (or D) and the Old Syriac, but not in the *Textus Receptus*.

**XI 6** *post* εἶπεν *add.* αὐτοῖς c. DMΦ, 1-118-209 13-69-124 565 700 *al. pauc.*; syrr (sin-pesh) latt sah boh

**XII 18** πρὸς αὐτὸν Σαδδουκαῖοι *hoc ordine* c. D, 28 106; bil q ff<sub>2</sub> g<sub>1</sub> g<sub>2</sub> syr-sin **37** πῶς *pro* πόθεν c. N<sup>\*</sup>M<sup>\*</sup> 1-118-209 33 13-69-346-543 28 565 *al. pauc.*; b sah syr-sin

**XIV 41** ἀπέχει *om.* c. k syr-sin (*sed* k *add.* 'et post pusillum excitavit illos et dixit iam ora &c.' et syr-sin *add.* 'The hour is come, the end is at hand.' **52** ἔφυγε γυμνός *hoc ordine* c. LΔ, 184 evgst; k d c sah boh. ? syrr (sin-pesh) aeth *sed* sin 'Fled from them naked.'

**54** ἡκολούθει *pro* ἡκολούθησεν c. G, 1-118-209 13-69-124-346-543 565 700 k c q sah boh syrr (sin-pesh) **66** κάτω *om.* c. DI, 69 472 565 *al. pauc.*; a c ff<sub>2</sub> q syr-sin (*codex deficit sed e spatia non habuisse κάτω videtur*) sah boh; Eus-dem

**XV 3** *add.* αὐτὸς δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο c. ΔNU 13-69-124-346-543 33 131 *al. pauc.*; a c syrr (sin-hl) arm sah-ming aeth; Orig

5. Readings found in a small group of MSS. of which LΔ (the latter being of this type only in St. Mark) are the most consistently present followed by N<sup>\*</sup> N<sup>o</sup> C 33 boh.

**IX 21** ἐξ οὗ *pro* ὡς c. N<sup>o</sup>C\*LΔ, 33 61<sup>ms</sup> 565 **43** εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἀσβεστον *om.* c. N<sup>ca</sup>LΔ, 240 244 255 700; pesh pers

**X 24** εἶπεν *pro* λέγει c. Δ, 565 1071 **27** πάντα γὰρ δυνατὰ παρὰ τῷ θεῷ *om.* c. Δ, 1-209 69 157 al<sup>10</sup>; 1 arm-zoh; Clem

**XI 18** ἡκουον *pro* ἡκουσαν c. Δ ἐξεπλήσσοντο c. NMΔ 299 al<sup>e</sup>; c vg boh **29** καγὼ ὑμῖν ἐρῶ c. LΔ (N<sup>o</sup>) 38; boh

**XII 31** ἡ δευτέρα c. Δ **34** εἰ *post* βασιλείας c. N<sup>ca</sup>Δ

**XIII 4** ταῦτα μέλλῃ *hoc ordine* c. L **32** οὔτε *pro* οὐδὲ c. L

**XIV 27** διασκοπισθήσονται τὰ πρόβατα c. AΔ **34** λέγειν *pro* λέγει c. ΔEGH **44** ὃν ἐὰν c. LΔN **54** *ante* μακρ. *om.* ἀπὸ c. LΔ **60** ὃ τι *pro* τί c. L

**XV 18** αὐτὸν ἀσπάξασθαι c. Δ

A reading which I am inclined to suspect may belong to the same family as that indicated by this group of MSS. but which lacks the necessary evidence to prove the point is:—

**XI 1** καὶ Βηθανίαν *om.* c. 184 evgst; sah

6. Readings where WH.'s text is based on a small group of uncials (not exceeding three in number) which is now increased by cod. Ψ.

**IX 9** ἐκ *pro* ἀπὸ c. BD, 33 475 477      **38** ἔφη *pro* ἀπεκρίθη  
δὲ c. NBD; boh pesh      **47** σέ ἐστιν . . . σοί ἐστιν *pro* c. NB

**X 7** καὶ προσκολλ. πρὸς τ. γυν. *om.* c. NB syr-sin 48 evgst go      **29**  
ἔφη *pro* ἀποκρ. εἶπεν c. NBD boh      **47** Ναζαρηνὸς *pro* Ναζωραῖος  
c. BLΔ, 1-118-209; latt; Orig

**XII 33** τῆς *om.* 1<sup>o</sup> c. BUX *al. pauc.*

**XIII 2** ἀποκριθεὶς *om.* c. NBL, 33 *al. pauc.*; e sah-boh-syrr (sin-  
pesh)      **6** πολλοὶ *sine* γὰρ c. NBL; aeth      **8** ἔσονται λιμοὶ *sine*  
καὶ c. NBL, 28; boh syr-sin      **9** γὰρ *om.* c. BL boh arm aeth  
**15** καταβάτω *sine* *addit.* c. NBL; c k boh sah pesh

**XIV 8** αὕτη *om.* c. NBL 1-209\* 13-69-346 28 565; a l boh bhl  
**35** ἐπιπτεν c. NBL boh      **47** ὠτάριον c. NBD, 1-118-209; hl-mg  
**68** καὶ ἀλέκτωρ ἐφώνησεν *om.*<sup>1</sup> c. NBL, 17 evgst; c boh syr-sin

**XV 14** ἐποίησεν κακόν c. BCD, 565 49 evgst al<sup>3</sup>      **24** σταν-  
ροῦσιν c. BL; c d ff<sub>2</sub> k l vg syrr sah aeth go

The following reading in cod. Ψ is not found in any MS. but is placed in the margin of WH. *e coniectura.*

**XIV 49** ἐκρατεῖτε *cf.* B κραται.

7. Besides these elements there are a few readings in cod. Ψ which are apparently not found elsewhere. The list of those which are not obviously accidental blunders is as follows:—

**IX 20** καὶ ἰδὼν αὐτὸν τὸ πνεῦμα *om.*      **28** κατ' ἰδίαν *ante* εἰς  
οἶκον      **31** ἀνόμων *pro* ἀνθρώπων      **34** ἐσιώπησαν *pro* ἐσιώπων  
**37** παιδίων τῶν τοιούτων *hoc ordine*      **41** ἂν *om.*

**X 17** τί ποιήσας *pro* τί ποιήσω ἵνα      **29** ἔφη αὐτοῖς *pro* ἔφη ὁ  
Ἰησοῦς      **39** Ἰησοῦς *om.*

**XI 9** ἔλεγον *pro* ἔκραζον      **28** λέγοντες *pro* καὶ λέγουσιν

**XII 6** *ante* ἀπέστειλεν *add.* καὶ      **37** *add.* ἐν πνεύματι      **38**  
*ante* ἀσπασμούς *add.* ζητούντων      **44** *ante* ὅλον *add.* καὶ

**XIII 1** καὶ ἐκπορευομένων αὐτῶν ἀπὸ *pro* ἐκπορευομένου αὐτοῦ ἐκ  
διδάσκαλε *om.*

<sup>1</sup> i. e. Ψ agrees in the details of the Denial of St. Peter with B; boh syr-sin.

**XIV 1** ἦν δὲ τὰ ἄλγυμα καὶ τὸ πάσχα      **12** σοι *pro* ἵνα φάγης  
**27** *ante* πατάξω *add.* ὅτι      **47** ἀρχιερέως Καιάφα      **56** κατὰ  
τοῦ ἰησοῦ *pro* κατ' αὐτοῦ      **61** εὐλογημένου *pro* εὐλογητοῦ  
**XV 2** *ante* ἀποκριθεὶς *om.* ὁ δὲ      **41** αὐτῷ *1° om.*

Some of these look like genuine variants, others are clearly due to palaeographical causes. Obvious instances of purely transcriptional corruption which can be explained on palaeographical grounds are the following:—

**IX 31** ἀνόμων due to a misreading of ἀνῶν, the almost invariable way of writing ἀνθρώπων.

**X 29** ἔφη αὐτοῖς which, curiously enough, is explained by another unsupported reading found only in **N**, ἔφη αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς, which if written in the usual manner would be ἔφη αὐτῷ ὁ ἰς

**XIV 47** Καιάφα which seems to be due to the combined effect of a knowledge of the high priest's name and the recurrence of the same letters in the next words—καὶ ἀφελέν.

It is also probable that the omission in **IX 20** is due to the scribe's eye skipping over a complete line, the lines being arranged thus:—

ἠνεγκαν αὐτον προς αὐτον  
καὶ ἰδων αὐτον το πᾶν  
ευθὺς συνεσπαραξεν αὐτον

If this be so it probably also explains the reading in **IX 28**, where the lines would be arranged thus:—

καὶ εἰσελθοντος αὐτου  
εἰς οἶκον οἱ μαθηται αὐτου  
κατ ἰδιαν ἐπηρώτων αὐτον

Here the scribe would seem to have been affected by the recurring αὐτου and to have mixed up the lines. Other places in which this explanation may possibly be right are **X 23** and **XIV 56**. In the former case the arrangement of lines would be:—

εἰς τὴν βασιλειαν τοῦ θῷ  
εἰσελευσονται οἱ δε

but that this is the explanation is rendered much less likely

by the fact that Clement of Alexandria has got the passage with the same transposition as cod. Ψ.

In the latter case *κατὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ* takes the place of *κατ' αὐτοῦ*. Perhaps this is merely an accident, but if the length of line suggested be right, the arrangement of the archetype would have been something like :—

κατὰ τοῦ ἰῶ μαρτυρίαν  
εἰς τὸ θανατώσαι αὐτόν  
καὶ οὐχ ἠυρίσκον πολ  
λοὶ γὰρ εὐψευδομαρτυροῦν  
κατὰ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἰσαὶ αἱ

and it is possible that the scribe's eye confused the first and last *κατὰ*.

Of course none of these four cases of suggested *line-error* are certain, but their evidence is cumulative, and is made much stronger if one remembers that these are the only cases in cod. Ψ of serious omissions or transpositions which have no support in other MSS., that such mistakes are generally due to *line-error*, and that they can all without undue manipulation be explained with varying degrees of probability as due to *line-errors* made by a scribe who was using an archetype in which the average length of line was about nineteen to twenty-two letters.

There is therefore at least a presumption in favour of the theory that cod. Ψ is copied from a MS. which contained nineteen to twenty-two letters in each line.

# ΚΑΤΑ ΜΑΡΚΟΝ.

- IX 6 . . . καὶ Μωσῇ μίαν καὶ Ἑλῖα μίαν. οὐ γὰρ ᾔδει τί ἀποκριθῇ,  
 7 ἔκφοβοι γὰρ ἐγένοντο. καὶ ἐγένετο νεφέλη ἐπισκιάζουσα αὐτοῖς,  
 καὶ ἐγένετο φωνὴ ἐκ τῆς νεφέλης λέγουσα Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου  
 8 ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἀκούετε αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἐξάπινα περιβλεψάμενοι οὐκέτι  
 9 οὐδένα ἶδον εἰ μὴ τὸν Ἰησοῦν μόνον μεθ' ἑαυτῶν. Καὶ καταβαι-  
 νόντων αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους διεστείλατο αὐτοῖς ἵνα μηδενὶ ἂ ἶδον  
 διηγήσωνται, εἰ μὴ ὅταν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστῇ.  
 10 καὶ τὸν λόγον ἐκράτησαν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς συζητοῦντες τί ἐστὶν τὸ <sup>πῃ</sup>  
 11 ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστήναι. καὶ ἐπηρώτων αὐτὸν λέγοντες Ὅτι <sup>πῶ</sup>  
 12 λέγουσιν οἱ γραμματεῖς ὅτι Ἑλῖαν δεῖ ἐλθεῖν πρῶτον ; ὁ δὲ ἐφθ  
 αὐτοῖς Ἑλῖας ἐλθὼν πρῶτος ἀποκατιστάνει πάντα, καὶ πῶς  
 γέγραπται ἐπὶ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἵνα πολλὰ πάθῃ καὶ  
 13 ἐξουδενηθῇ ; ἀλλὰ λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι καὶ Ἑλῖας ἐλήλυθεν, καὶ  
 ἐποίησαν ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα ὅσα ᾔθελον, καθὼς γέγραπται ἐπ' αὐτόν.  
 14 Καὶ ἐλθόντες πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς ἶδον ὄχλον πολλὸν περὶ αὐτοὺς <sup>ῃ</sup>  
 15 καὶ γραμματεῖς συζητοῦντας πρὸς αὐτόν. καὶ εὐθὺς πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος  
 ἰδόντες αὐτὸν ἐξεθαμβήθησαν, καὶ προστρέχοντες ἡσπάζοντο αὐτόν.  
 16 καὶ ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτούς Τί συζητεῖτε πρὸς αὐτούς ; καὶ ἀπεκρίθη  
 17 αὐτῷ εἰς ἐκ τοῦ ὄχλου Διδάσκαλε, ἡνεγκα τὸν υἱόν μου πρὸς σέ, <sup>ῃα</sup>  
 18 ἔχοντα πνεῦμα ἁλαλόν· καὶ ὅπου ἂν αὐτὸν καταλάβῃ ῥήσσει <sup>β</sup>  
 αὐτόν, καὶ ἀφρίζει καὶ τρίξει τοὺς ὀδόντας καὶ ξηραίνεται· καὶ εἴπα  
 19 τοῖς μαθηταῖς σου ἵνα αὐτὸν ἐκβάλωσιν, καὶ οὐκ ἴσχυσαν. ὁ δὲ  
 ἀποκριθεὶς αὐτοῖς λέγει Ὡ γενεὰ ἄπιστος, ἕως πότε πρὸς ὑμᾶς  
 20 ἔσομαι ; ἕως πότε ἀνέξομαι ὑμῶν ; φέρετε αὐτὸν πρὸς με. καὶ  
 ἡνεγκαν αὐτὸν πρὸς αὐτόν. εὐθὺς οὖν ἔσπαρξεν αὐτόν, καὶ πεσὼν  
 21 ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐκυλίετο ἀφρίζων. καὶ ἐπηρώτησεν τὸν πατέρα

At the top of f. 1<sup>v</sup>  $\frac{x}{k}$  Δ τῶν νηστειῶν and ἀρ is put in the margin opposite διδάσκαλε, v. 17, and  $\frac{z}{f}$  is put in the text, but above the line, after ἀναστήσεται, v. 31.

αὐτοῦ, Πόσος χρόνος ἐστὶν ἐξ οὗ τοῦτο γέγονεν αὐτῷ ; ὁ δὲ εἶπεν 22  
 Ἐκ παιδιόθεν· καὶ πολλάκις καὶ εἰς πῦρ αὐτὸν ἔβαλεν καὶ εἰς ὕδατα  
 ἵνα ἀπολέσῃ αὐτόν· ἀλλ' εἴ τι δύνη, βοήθησον ἡμῖν σπλαγχνισθεὶς  
 ἐφ' ἡμᾶς. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῷ Τό εἰ δύνασαι πιστεῦσαι, 23  
 πάντα δυνατὰ τῷ πιστεύοντι. καὶ εὐθὺς κράξας ὁ πατήρ τοῦ 24  
 παιδίου ἔλεγεν Πιστεύω· βοήθησόν μου τῇ ἀπιστίᾳ. ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ 25  
 Ἰησοῦς ὅτι ἐπισυντρέχει ὁ ὄχλος ἐπετίμησεν τῷ πνεύματι τῷ  
 ἀκαθάρτῳ λέγων αὐτῷ Τὸ ἅλαον καὶ κωφὸν πνεῦμα, ἐγὼ  
 ἐπιτάσσω σοι, ἔξελθε ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ μηκέτι εἰσέλθῃς εἰς αὐτόν.  
 καὶ κράξας καὶ πολλὰ σπαράξας ἔξῃλθεν· καὶ ἐγένετο ὥσερ νεκρὸς 26  
 ὥστε τοὺς πολλοὺς λέγειν ὅτι ἀπέθανεν. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς κρατήσας 27  
 τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ ἤγειρεν αὐτόν, καὶ ἀνέστη. καὶ εἰσελθόντος 28  
 αὐτοῦ κατ' ἰδίαν εἰς οἶκον οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπηρώτων αὐτόν Ὅτι  
 ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἠδυνήθημεν ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτό ; καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Τοῦτο 29  
 τὸ γένος ἐν οὐδενὶ δύναται ἐξελεῖν εἰ μὴ ἐν προσευχῇ καὶ  
 νηστείᾳ.

Κἀκεῖθεν ἐξελθόντες παρεπορεύοντο διὰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, καὶ οὐκ 30  
 ἦβελον ἵνα τις γυνὴ ἐδίδασκεν γὰρ τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ 31  
 ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς ὅτι Ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδοται εἰς χεῖρας  
 ἀνόμων, καὶ ἀποκτενοῦσιν αὐτόν, καὶ ἀποκτανθεὶς μετὰ τρεῖς  
 ἡμέρας ἀναστήσεται. οἱ δὲ ἡγνόνουν τὸ ῥῆμα, καὶ ἐφοβοῦντο αὐτὸν 32  
 ἐπερωτῆσαι.

Καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς Καφαρναούμ. Καὶ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ γενόμενος ἐπηρώτα 33  
 αὐτοὺς Τί ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ διελογίζεσθε ; οἱ δὲ ἐσιώπησαν, πρὸς 34  
 ἀλλήλους γὰρ διελέχθησαν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ τίς μείζων. καὶ καθίσας 35  
 ἐφώνησεν τοὺς δώδεκα καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς Εἴ τις θέλει πρῶτος  
 εἶναι ἔσται πάντων ἔσχατος καὶ πάντων διάκονος. καὶ λαβὼν 36  
 παιδίον ἔστησεν αὐτὸ ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐναγκαλισάμενος αὐτὸ  
 εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Ὅς ἂν ἐν τῶν παιδίων τῶν τοιούτων δέξῃται ἐπὶ 37  
 τῷ ὀνόματί μου, ἐμὲ δέχεται· καὶ ὃς ἂν ἐμὲ δέχῃται, οὐκ ἐμὲ 38  
 δέχεται ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀποστείλαντά με. Ἐφη αὐτῷ ὁ 38  
 Ἰωάννης Διδάσκαλε, ἴδαμέν τινα ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί σου δαιμόνια  
 ἐκβάλλοντα, καὶ ἐκωλύομεν αὐτόν, ὅτι οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ ἡμῖν. ὁ δὲ 39  
 Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν Μὴ κωλύετε αὐτόν, οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἔστιν ἐπὶ τῷ

31. ἀνόμων] The writing seems rather fainter, and perhaps the word was partially sponged out. It is impossible to be certain from the photograph.

ὀνόματί μου ὃς οὐ ποιήσει δύναμιν καὶ δυνήσεται ἰαχὺ κακολογήσαι  
 40 με· ὃς γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν καθ' ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἔστιν. Ὁς γὰρ <sup>47</sup>/<sub>5</sub>  
 41 ποτίσει ὑμᾶς ποτῆριον ὕδατος ἐν ὀνόματι ὅτι Χριστοῦ ἔστέ, ἀμὴν  
 42 λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐ μὴ ἀπολέσῃ τὸν μισθὸν αὐτοῦ. Καὶ ὃς ἂν <sup>48</sup>/<sub>β</sub>  
 σκανδαλίσῃ ἓνα τῶν μικρῶν τῶν πιστευόντων εἰς ἐμὲ καλὸν  
 ἔστιν αὐτῷ μᾶλλον εἰ περίκειται μύλος ὄνικος περὶ τὸν τράχηλον  
 43 αὐτοῦ καὶ βέβληται εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν. Καὶ ἂν σκανδαλίσῃ σε ἡ <sup>ρ</sup>/<sub>5</sub>  
 χεὶρ σου, ἀπόκοψον αὐτήν· καλὸν ἔστιν σε κυλλὸν εἰσελθεῖν εἰς  
 45 τὴν ζωὴν ἢ δύο χεῖρας ἔχοντα ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὴν γέενναν. καὶ  
 ἂν ὁ πούς σου σκανδαλίσῃ σε, ἀπόκοψον αὐτόν· καλὸν ἔστιν σε  
 εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν ζωὴν χωλὸν ἢ τοὺς δύο πόδας ἔχοντα βληθῆναι  
 47 εἰς τὴν γέενναν. καὶ ἂν ὁ ὀφθαλμός σου σκανδαλίσῃ σε, ἐκβαλε  
 αὐτόν· καλὸν σέ ἐστιν μονόφθαλμον εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν  
 48 τοῦ θεοῦ ἢ δύο ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχοντα βληθῆναι εἰς γέενναν, ὅπου ὁ <sup>ρα</sup>/<sub>ε</sub>  
 49 σκώληξ αὐτῶν οὐ τελευτᾷ καὶ τὸ πῦρ αὐτῶν οὐ σβέννυται· πᾶς  
 50 γὰρ πυρὶ ἁλισθήσεται καὶ πᾶσα θυσία ἀναλωθήσεται. Καλὸν τὸ <sup>ρβ</sup>/<sub>β</sub>  
 ἅλας· ἂν δὲ τὸ ἅλας ἀναλον γένηται, ἐν τίνι αὐτὸ ἀρτύσετε ;  
 ἔχετε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἅλα, καὶ εἰρηνεύετε ἐν ἀλλήλοις.

ⲫ Καὶ ἐκείθεν ἀναστὰς ἔρχεται εἰς τὰ ὄρια τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ πέραν <sup>ργ</sup>/<sub>5</sub>  
 τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, καὶ συμπορεύονται πάλιν ὄχλοι πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ ὥς  
 2 εἰσὼθει πάλιν ἐδίδασκεν αὐτούς. Καὶ προσελθόντες Φαρισαῖοι  
 ἐπηρώτων αὐτὸν εἰ ἔξεστιν ἀνδρὶ γυναῖκα ἀπολῦσαι, πειράζοντες  
 3 αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Τί ὑμῖν ἐνετείλατο Μωσῆς ;  
 4 οἱ δὲ εἶπον Ἐπέτρεψεν Μωσῆς βιβλίον ἀποστασίου γράψαι καὶ  
 5 ἀπολῦσαι. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Πρὸς τὴν σκληροκαρδίαν  
 6 ὑμῶν ἔγραψεν ὑμῖν Μωσῆς τὴν ἐντολὴν ταύτην· ἀπὸ δὲ ἀρχῆς  
 7 κτίσεως ἄρσεν καὶ θήλυ ἐποίησεν αὐτοὺς ὁ θεός· ἕνεκεν τούτου  
 8 καταλείψει ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν μητέρα, καὶ  
 9 ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν· ὥστε οὐκέτι εἰσὶν δύο ἀλλὰ μία <sup>ρδ</sup>/<sub>θ</sub>  
 10 σὰρξ· ὁ οὖν ὁ θεὸς συνέζευξεν ἄνθρωπος μὴ χωριζέτω. Καὶ εἰς <sup>ρδ</sup>/<sub>θ</sub>  
 11 τὴν οἰκίαν πάλιν οἱ μαθηταὶ περὶ τούτου ἐπηρώτων αὐτόν. καὶ <sup>ρε</sup>/<sub>β</sub>  
 λέγει αὐτοῖς Ὁς ἂν ἀπολύσῃ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ γαμήσῃ  
 12 ἄλλην μοιχᾷται, ἡ ταύτην καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ ἀπολύσασα τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς  
 γαμήσῃ ἄλλον μοιχᾷται.

<sup>ρα</sup>/<sub>ε</sub> in most MSS. is given to v. 44.



<sup>ρς</sup>  
<sup>β</sup> Καὶ προσέφερον αὐτῷ παιδία ἵνα αὐτῶν ἀψηται· οἱ δὲ μαθηταὶ 13  
ἐπετίμησαν αὐτοῖς. Ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἠγανάκτησεν καὶ εἶπεν 14  
αὐτοῖς Ἄφετε τὰ παιδία ἔρχεσθαι πρὸς με, μὴ κωλύετε αὐτά,  
τῶν γὰρ τοιούτων ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ. ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, 15  
ὅς ἂν μὴ δέξηται τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ ὡς παιδίον, οὐ μὴ  
εἰσέλθῃ εἰς αὐτήν. καὶ ἐναγκαλισάμενος αὐτὰ κατηνύλογει τιθεὶς 16  
τὰς χεῖρας ἐπ' αὐτά.

<sup>ρς</sup>  
<sup>β</sup> Καὶ ἐκπορευομένον αὐτοῦ εἰς ὁδὸν προσδραμὼν εἰς καὶ γουνυπε- 17  
τήσας αὐτὸν ἐπηρώτα αὐτόν Διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ, τί ποιήσας ζωὴν  
αἰώνιον κληρονομήσω; ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῷ Τί με λέγεις 18  
ἀγαθόν; οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ εἰς ὁ θεός. τὰς ἐντολὰς οἶδας Μὴ 19  
φονεύσης, Μὴ μοιχεύσης, Μὴ κλέψῃς, Μὴ ψευδομαρτυρήσης, Τίμα  
τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα. ὁ δὲ ἔφη αὐτῷ Διδάσκαλε, ταῦτα 20

<sup>ργ</sup>  
<sup>β</sup> πάντα ἐφύλαξάμην ἐκ νεότητός μου. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἐμβλέψας 21  
αὐτῷ ἠγάπησεν αὐτόν καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ Ἐν σοι ὑστερεῖ· ὕπαγε ὅσα  
ἔχεις πώλησον καὶ ὁδὸς πτωχοῖς, καὶ ἔξεις θησαυρὸν ἐν οὐρανῷ, καὶ  
<sup>ρδ</sup>  
<sup>β</sup> δεῦρο ἀκολουθεῖ μοι. ὁ δὲ στυγνάσας ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ ἀπῆλθεν 22  
λυπούμενος, ἦν γὰρ ἔχων κτήματα πολλὰ.

Καὶ περι- 23  
βλεψάμενος ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγει τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ Πῶς δυσκόλως  
οἱ τὰ χρήματα ἔχοντες εἰσελεύσονται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ.  
οἱ δὲ μαθηταὶ ἐθαμβοῦντο ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς 24  
πάλιν ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Τεκνία, πῶς δύσκολόν ἐστιν εἰς τὴν  
βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσελθεῖν· εὐκοπώτερόν ἐστιν κάμηλον διὰ 25  
τρυμαλιῶς ραβδόος εἰσελθεῖν ἢ πλούσιον εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ  
θεοῦ εἰσελθεῖν. οἱ δὲ περισσῶς ἐξεπλήσσοντο λέγοντες πρὸς 26  
αὐτόν Καὶ τίς δύναται σωθῆναι; ἐμβλέψας αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς 27  
λέγει Παρὰ ἀνθρώποις ἀδύνατον ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ θεῷ.

Ἦρ- 28  
ξατο λέγειν ὁ Πέτρος αὐτῷ Ἰδοὺ ἡμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν πάντα καὶ  
<sup>ρς</sup>  
<sup>β</sup> ἠκολουθήσαμέν σοι. ἔφη αὐτοῖς Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν 29  
ὅς ἀφήκεν οἰκίαν ἢ ἀδελφούς ἢ ἀδελφὰς ἢ πατέρα ἢ μητέρα ἢ  
γυναῖκα ἢ τέκνα ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ καὶ ἕνεκεν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, ἔαν μὴ 30  
λάβῃ ἑκατονταπαλσίονα νῦν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ οἰκίας καὶ ἀδελφούς  
καὶ ἀδελφὰς καὶ μητέρας καὶ τέκνα καὶ ἀγροὺς μετὰ διωγμῶν, καὶ

17. καὶ 2° is very faint, and seems to have been sponged out.

24. A contemporary hand has written in the margin τοὺς πεποιθότας ἐπὶ χρήμασιν.

29. τέκνα] + ἢ ἀγροὺς written below the line perhaps by the first hand.

30. τέκνα] + καὶ γυναῖκας in the margin, perhaps written by the first hand.

31 ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τῷ ἐρχομένῳ ζωὴν αἰώνιον. πολλοὶ δὲ ἔσονται  
πρῶτοι ἔσχατοι καὶ ἔσχατοι πρῶτοι. μα  
β

32 Ἦσαν δὲ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἀναβαίνοντες εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ ἦν ριβ  
β  
προάγων αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἰησοῦς, καὶ ἐθαμβοῦντο, οἱ δὲ ἀκολουθοῦντες  
ἐφοβοῦντο. καὶ παραλαβὼν πάλιν τοὺς δώδεκα ἤρξατο αὐτοῖς  
33 λέγειν τὰ μέλλοντα αὐτῷ συμβαίνειν ὅτι Ἰδοὺ ἀναβαίνομεν εἰς  
Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδοθήσεται τοῖς ἀρχιε-  
ρεῦσιν καὶ τοῖς γραμματεῦσιν, καὶ κατακρινούσιν αὐτὸν θανάτῳ  
34 καὶ παραδώσουσιν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν καὶ ἐμπαΐξουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ  
ἐμπτύσουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ μαστιγώσουσιν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀποκτενοῦσιν  
αὐτόν, καὶ μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀναστήσεται.

35 Καὶ προσπορεύονται αὐτῷ Ἰάκωβος καὶ Ἰωάννης οἱ υἱοὶ ριγ  
ς  
Ζεβεδαίου λέγοντες Διδάσκαλε, θέλομεν ἵνα ὡς αἰτήσωμέν σε  
36 ποιήσης ἡμῖν. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Τί θέλετέ με ποιῆσω ὑμῖν ; οἱ δὲ  
37 εἶπαν αὐτῷ Δὸς ἡμῖν ἵνα εἰς σου ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ εἰς ἐξ ἀριστερῶν  
38 καθίσωμεν ἐν τῇ δόξῃ σου. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Οὐκ οἴδατε τί  
αἰτεῖσθε· δύνασθε πιεῖν τὸ ποτήριον ὃ ἐγὼ πίνω, ἢ τὸ βάπτισμα ὃ  
39 ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι βαπτισθῆναι ; οἱ δὲ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ Δυνάμεθα. ὁ δὲ  
εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Τὸ μὲν ποτήριον ὃ ἐγὼ πίνω πίεσθε καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα  
40 ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι βαπτισθήσεσθε, τὸ δὲ καθίσαι ἐκ δεξιῶν μου ἢ  
41 ἐξ εὐωνύμων μου οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμὸν δοῦναι, ἀλλ' οἷς ἡτοίμασται. καὶ ριδ  
β  
ἀκούσαντες οἱ δέκα ἤρξαντο ἀγανακτεῖν περὶ Ἰακώβου καὶ Ἰωάννου.  
42 καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγει αὐτοῖς Οἴδατε ὅτι  
οἱ δοκοῦντες ἄρχειν τῶν ἐθνῶν κατακυριεύουσιν αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ  
43 μεγάλοι αὐτῶν κατεξουσιάζουσιν αὐτῶν. οὐχ οὕτως δὲ ἔστιν ἐν  
ὑμῖν· ἀλλ' ὅς ἂν θέλῃ μέγας γενέσθαι ἐν ὑμῖν, ἔσται ὑμῶν διάκονος,  
44 καὶ ὅς ἂν θέλῃ εἶναι πρῶτος ἐν ὑμῖν, ἔσται πάντων δούλος· καὶ  
45 γὰρ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἦλθεν διακονηθῆναι ἀλλὰ διακονῆσαι ριε  
δ  
καὶ δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν.

46 Καὶ ἔρχονται εἰς Ἱερειχώ. Καὶ ἐκπορευομένου αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ ρις  
β  
Ἱερειχῶ μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὄχλου ἱκανοῦ ὁ υἱὸς Τιμαίου  
47 Βαρτίμαιος τυφλὸς προσαίτης ἐκάθητο παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν. καὶ ἀκούσας  
ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζαρηνὸς ἔστιν ἤρξατο κρᾶζειν καὶ λέγειν Ὅτι  
48 Δαυεὶδ, ἐλέησόν με. καὶ ἐπετίμων αὐτῷ πολλοὶ ἵνα σιωπήσῃ·  
49 ὁ δὲ πολλῶ μάλλον ἔκραζεν Ὅτι Δαυεὶδ, ἐλέησόν με. καὶ στὰς

ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν Φωνήσατε αὐτόν. καὶ φωνοῦσι τὸν τυφλὸν λέγοντες αὐτῷ Θάρσει, ἔγειρε, φωνεῖ σε. ὁ δὲ ἀποβαλὼν τὸ 50 ἱμάτιον αὐτοῦ ἀναπηδήσας ἦλθεν πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν. καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς 51 αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν Τί σοι θέλεις ποιήσω; ὁ δὲ τυφλὸς εἶπεν αὐτῷ Ῥαββουνί, ἵνα ἀναβλέψω. καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῷ Ὑπαγε, 52 ἢ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε. καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνέβλεψεν, καὶ ἠκολούθει αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ.

$\frac{\rho\iota\zeta}{\beta}$  Καὶ ὅτε ἐγγίξουσιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα εἰς Βηθφαγὴ πρὸς τὸ Ὅρος **XI** ὧν Ἑλαιῶν, ἀποστέλλει δύο τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς 2 Ὑπάγετε εἰς τὴν κώμην τὴν κατέναντι ὑμῶν, καὶ εὐθὺς εἰσπορευόμενοι εἰς αὐτὴν εὐρήσετε πῶλον δεδεμένον ἐφ' ὃν οὐδεὶς σὺν πῶ ἀνθρώπων ἐκάθισεν· λύσατε αὐτόν καὶ φέρετε. καὶ ἕάν τις ὑμῶν 3 εἴπῃ Τί ποιεῖτε τοῦτο; εἴπατε ὅτι Ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ χρεῖαν  $\frac{\rho\iota\eta}{\beta}$  ἔχει· καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτὸν ἀποστελεῖ ὧδε. καὶ ἀπῆλθον καὶ εὗρον 4 πῶλον δεδεμένον πρὸς θύραν ἕξω ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀμφόδου, καὶ λύουσιν αὐτόν. καὶ τινες τῶν ἐκεῖ ἐστηκότων ἔλεγον αὐτοῖς Τί ποιεῖτε 5 λύοντες τὸν πῶλον; οἱ δὲ εἶπαν αὐτοῖς καθὼς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ 6 Ἰησοῦς· καὶ ἀφήκαν αὐτούς. καὶ φέρουσιν τὸν πῶλον πρὸς τὸν 7 Ἰησοῦν, καὶ ἐπιβάλλουσιν αὐτῷ τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐπ' αὐτόν. καὶ πολλοὶ τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν ἔστρωσαν εἰς τὴν ὁδόν, 8 ἄλλοι δὲ στιβάδας κόψαντες ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν. καὶ οἱ προάγοντες 9  $\frac{\rho\iota\theta}{\varsigma}$  καὶ οἱ ἀκολουθοῦντες ἔλεγον

Ὡσαννά·

Εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου·

Εὐλογημένη ἡ ἐρχομένη βασιλεία τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Δαυεὶδ· 10

Ὡσαννά ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις.

$\frac{\rho\kappa}{\varsigma}$  Καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα εἰς τὸ ἱερόν· καὶ περιβλεψάμενος 11 πάντα ὀψίας ἤδη οὔσης τῆς ὥρας ἐξῆλθεν εἰς Βιθανίαν μετὰ τῶν δώδεκα.

Καὶ τῇ ἐπαύριον ἐξελθόντων αὐτῶν ἀπὸ Βιθανίας ἐπεινάσεν. 12 καὶ ἰδὼν συκὴν ἀπὸ μακρόθεν ἔχουσαν φύλλα ἦλθεν εἰ ἄρα τι 13 εὐρήσει ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ ἐλθὼν ἐπ' αὐτὴν οὐδὲν εὗρεν εἰ μὴ φύλλα, ὁ γὰρ καιρὸς οὐκ ἦν σύκων. καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτῇ Μηκέτι 14 εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἐκ σοῦ μηδεὶς καρπὸν φάγη. καὶ ἤκουον οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ.

$\frac{\rho\kappa\alpha}{\alpha}$  Καὶ ἔρχονται εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. Καὶ εἰσελθὼν 15 εἰς τὸ ἱερόν ἤρξατο ἐκβάλλειν τοὺς πωλοῦντας καὶ ἀγοράζοντας ἐν

τῷ ἱερῷ, καὶ τὰς τραπέζας τῶν κολλυβιστῶν καὶ τὰς καθέδρας τῶν  
 16 πωλούντων τὰς περιστερὰς κατέστρεψεν καὶ οὐκ ἦφιεν ἵνα τις  
 17 διενέγκῃ σκεῦος διὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, καὶ ἐδίδασκεν καὶ ἔλεγεν Οὐ  
 γέγραπται Ὁ οἶκός μου οἶκος προσευχῆς κληθήσεται πᾶσιν τοῖς  
 18 ἔθνεσιν; ὑμεῖς δὲ πεποιήκατε αὐτὸν σπήλαιον ληστῶν. καὶ  $\frac{\rho\kappa\beta}{\alpha}$   
 ἤκουον οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς, καὶ ἐζήτουν πῶς αὐτὸν  
 ἀπολέσωσιν· ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ αὐτόν, πᾶς γὰρ ὁ ὄχλος ἐξεπλήττετο  
 19 ἐπὶ τῇ διδαχῇ αὐτοῦ. Καὶ ὅταν ὀψὲ ἐγένετο, ἐξεπορεύοντο ἔξω  $\frac{\rho\kappa\gamma}{\iota}$   
 20 τῆς πόλεως. Καὶ παραπορευόμενοι πρῶι εἶδον τὴν  
 21 συκὴν ἐξηραμμένην ἐκ ῥιζῶν. καὶ ἀναμνησθεὶς ὁ Πέτρος εἶπεν  
 22 αὐτῷ· Ῥαββί, ἴδε ἡ συκὴ ἣν κατηράσω ἐξηράνθη. καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ  $\frac{\rho\kappa\delta}{\Delta}$   
 23 Ἰησοῦς λέγει αὐτοῖς Ἐχετε πίστιν θεοῦ· ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι ὃς  
 ἂν εἴπῃ τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ Ἄρθητι καὶ βλήθητι εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν,  
 καὶ μὴ διακριθῇ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἀλλὰ πιστεύῃ ὅτι ὃ λαλεῖ  
 24 γίνεται, ἔσται αὐτῷ ὃ ἐὰν εἴπῃ. διὰ τοῦτο λέγω ὑμῖν, πάντα ὅσα  $\frac{\rho\kappa\epsilon}{\delta}$   
 προσεύχεσθε καὶ αἰτείσθε, πιστεύετε ὅτι ἐλάβετε, καὶ ἔσται ὑμῖν.  
 25 καὶ ὅταν στήκετε προσευχόμενοι, ἀφίετε εἴ τι ἔχετε κατὰ τινος, ἵνα  $\frac{\rho\kappa\varsigma}{\epsilon}$   
 καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ἀφῇ ὑμῖν τὰ παραπτώματα  
 ὑμῶν.  
 27 Καὶ ἔρχονται πάλιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. Καὶ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ περι-  $\frac{\rho\kappa\zeta}{\beta}$   
 28 πατοῦντος αὐτοῦ ἔρχονται πρὸς αὐτόν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ γραμμα-  
 τεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι λέγοντες αὐτῷ Ἐν ποίᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ ταῦτα  
 • ποιεῖς; ἢ τίς σοι ἔδωκεν τὴν ἐξουσίαν ταύτην ἵνα ταῦτα  
 29 ποιῇς; ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Ἐπερωτήσω ὑμᾶς ἓνα λόγον,  
 καὶ ἀποκριθῆτέ μοι, καὶ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐρῶ ἐν ποίᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ ταῦτα ποιῶ·  
 30 τὸ βάπτισμα Ἰωάννου ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἢ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων; ἀποκριθῆτέ  
 31 μοι. καὶ διελογίζοντο πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς λέγοντες Ἐὰν εἴπωμεν Ἐξ  
 32 οὐρανοῦ, ἐρεῖ Διὰ τί οὐκ ἐπιστεύσατε αὐτῷ; ἀλλ' εἴπωμεν  
 Ἐξ ἀνθρώπων φοβού τὸν λαόν, ἅπαντες γὰρ εἶχον τὸν  
 33 Ἰωάννην ὄντως ὅτι προφῆτης ἦν. καὶ ἀποκριθέντες τῷ Ἰησοῦ  
 λέγουσιν Οὐκ οἶδαμεν. καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγει αὐτοῖς Οὐδὲ ἐγὼ  
 XII λέγω ὑμῖν ἐν ποίᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ ταῦτα ποιῶ. Καὶ ἤρξατο  
 αὐτοῖς ἐν παραβολαῖς λαλεῖν Ἀμπελῶνα ἄνθρωπος ἐφύτευσεν,  $\frac{\rho\kappa\eta}{\beta}$   
 καὶ περιέθηκεν αὐτῷ φραγμὸν καὶ ὥρυξεν ὑπολήνιον καὶ ὑποκόδησεν

32. Spaces are left in the text as shown above, but an apparently contemporary hand has added *μεθα* after *φοβον*.

πύργον, καὶ ἐξέδοτο αὐτὸν γεωργοῖς, καὶ ἀπεδήμησεν. καὶ ἀπ- 2  
 έστειλεν πρὸς τοὺς γεωργοὺς τῷ καιρῷ δοῦλον, ἵνα λάβῃ ἀπὸ τῶν  
 καρπῶν τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος· καὶ λαβόντες αὐτὸν ἔδειραν καὶ ἀπέστειλαν 3  
 κενόν. καὶ πάλιν ἀπέστειλεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἄλλον δοῦλον· καὶ ἐκείνους 4  
 ἐκεφαλίσωσαν καὶ ἠτίμασαν. καὶ ἄλλον ἀπέστειλεν· κἀκείνους 5  
 ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλους, οὓς μὲν δέροντες οὓς δὲ ἀποκτεν-  
 νόντες. ἔτι ἓνα εἶχεν, υἱὸν ἀγαπητόν· καὶ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν 6  
 ἔσχατον πρὸς αὐτοὺς λέγων ὅτι Ἐντραπήσονται τὸν υἱόν μου.  
 ἐκείνοι δὲ οἱ γεωργοὶ πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς εἶπαν ὅτι Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ 7  
 κληρονόμος· δεῦτε ἀποκτείνωμεν αὐτόν, καὶ ἡμῶν ἔσται ἡ κληρο-  
 νομία. καὶ λαβόντες ἀπέκτειναν αὐτόν, καὶ ἐξέβαλον αὐτὸν ἔξω 8  
 τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος. τί οὖν ποιήσει ὁ κύριος τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος ; 9  
 ἐλεύσεται καὶ ἀπολέσει τοὺς γεωργούς, καὶ δώσει τὸν ἀμπελῶνα  
 ἄλλοις. οὐδὲ τὴν γραφὴν ταύτην ἀνέγνωτε 10

Λίθον ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες,

οὗτος ἐγενήθη εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας·

παρὰ Κυρίου ἐγένετο αὕτη,

11

καὶ ἔστιν θαυμαστὴ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν ;

$\frac{\rho\kappa\theta}{\alpha}$  Καὶ ἐζήτουν αὐτὸν κρατῆσαι, καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν τὸν ὄχλον, ἔγνωσαν γὰρ 12  
 ὅτι πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὴν παραβολὴν εἶπεν. καὶ ἀφέντες αὐτὸν ἀπῆλθον.

$\frac{\rho\lambda}{\beta}$  Καὶ ἀποστέλλουσιν πρὸς αὐτόν τινὰς τῶν Φαρισαίων καὶ τῶν 13  
 Ἑρωδιανῶν ἵνα αὐτὸν ἀγρεύσωσιν λόγῳ. καὶ ἐλθόντες λέγουσιν 14  
 αὐτῷ Διδάσκαλε, οἶδαμεν ὅτι ἀληθὴς εἶ καὶ οὐ μέλει σοι περὶ  
 οὐδενός, οὐ γὰρ βλέπεις εἰς πρόσωπον ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ' ἐπ'  
 ἀληθείας τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ θεοῦ διδάσκεις· ἔξεστιν δοῦναι κῆνσον  
 Καίσαρι ἢ οὐ; δώμεν ἢ μὴ δώμεν; ὁ δὲ εἰδὼς αὐτῶν τὴν ὑπόκρισιν 15  
 εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Τί με πειράζετε; φέρετέ μοι δηνάριον ἵνα ἴδω. οἱ 16  
 δὲ ἤνεγκαν. καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς Τίνος ἡ εἰκὼν αὕτη καὶ ἡ ἐπιγραφή;  
 οἱ δὲ εἶπαν αὐτῷ Καίσαρος. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Τὰ 17  
 Καίσαρος ἀπόδοτε Καίσαρι καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῷ θεῷ. καὶ ἐξεθαύ-  
 μαζον ἐπ' αὐτῷ.

Καὶ ἔρχονται πρὸς αὐτὸν Σαδδουκαῖοι, οἵτινες λέγουσιν ἀνά- 18  
 στασιν μὴ εἶναι, καὶ ἐπρωτῶν αὐτὸν λέγοντες Διδάσκαλε, Μωυσῆς 19  
 ἔγραψεν ἡμῖν ὅτι ἐάν τις ἀδελφὸς ἀποθάνῃ καὶ καταλίπῃ γυναῖκα  
 καὶ μὴ ἀφῇ τέκνον, ἵνα λάβῃ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ  
 ἐξαναστήσῃ σπέρμα τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ. ἐπτα ἀδελφοὶ ἦσαν· καὶ 20

ὁ πρῶτος ἔλαβεν γυναῖκα, καὶ ἀποθνήσκων οὐκ ἀφήκεν σπέρμα·  
 21 καὶ ὁ δεύτερος ἔλαβεν αὐτήν, καὶ ἀπέθανεν μὴ καταλιπὼν σπέρμα,  
 22 καὶ ὁ τρίτος· ὡσαύτως καὶ οἱ ἑπτὰ οὐκ ἀφήκαν σπέρμα· ἔσχατον  
 23 πάντων καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἀπέθανεν. ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει τίνος αὐτῶν ἔσται  
 24 γυνή; οἱ γὰρ ἑπτὰ ἔσχον αὐτήν γυναῖκα. ἔφη αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς  
 Οὐ διὰ τοῦτο πλανᾶσθε μὴ εἰδότες τὰς γραφὰς μηδὲ τὴν δύναμιν  
 25 τοῦ θεοῦ; ὅταν γὰρ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστῶσιν, οὔτε γαμοῦσιν οὔτε γαμί-  
 26 ζονται, ἀλλ' εἰσὶν ὡς ἄγγελοι οἱ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς· περὶ δὲ τῶν νεκρῶν  
 ὅτι ἐγείρονται οὐκ ἀνέγνωτε ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ Μωσέως ἐπὶ τῆς βάτου πῶς  
 εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς λέγων Ἐγὼ ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραάμ καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ἰσαὰκ καὶ  
 27 ὁ θεὸς Ἰακώβ; οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ θεὸς νεκρῶν ἀλλὰ ζώντων· πολλὸν πλανᾶσθε.  
 28 Καὶ προσελθὼν εἰς τῶν γραμματέων ἀκούσας αὐτῶν συζητοῦντων, <sup>ρλα</sup>  
 εἰδὼς ὅτι καλῶς ἀπεκρίθη αὐτοῖς, ἐπερώτησεν αὐτόν Ποία ἐστὶν  
 29 ἐντολὴ πρώτη πάντων; ἀπεκρίθη Ἰησοῦς ὅτι Πρώτη ἐστὶν  
 30 Ἄκουε, Ἰσραὴλ, Κύριος ὁ θεὸς σου κύριος εἰς ἐστί, καὶ ἀγαπήσεις  
 Κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς  
 31 σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς διανοίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ἰσχύος σου. ἡ  
 δευτέρα αὕτη Ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν. μείζων  
 32 τούτων ἄλλη ἐντολὴ οὐκ ἔστιν. Καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ γραμματεὺς <sup>ρλβ</sup>  
 Καλῶς, διδάσκαλε, ἐπ' ἀληθείας εἶπας ὅτι εἰς ἐστὶν καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν  
 33 ἄλλος πλην αὐτοῦ· καὶ τὸ ἀγαπᾶν αὐτὸν ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας καὶ ἐξ  
 ὅλης τῆς συνέσεως καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ἰσχύος καὶ τὸ ἀγαπᾶν τὸν  
 πλησίον ὡς ἑαυτόν περισσώτερά ἐστιν πάντων τῶν δλοκαυτωμάτων  
 34 καὶ θυσιῶν. καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἰδὼς αὐτὸν ὅτι νουνεχῶς ἀπεκρίθη <sup>ρλγ</sup>  
 εἶπεν αὐτῷ Οὐ μακρὰν ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλείας εἰ τοῦ θεοῦ. Καὶ <sup>β</sup>  
 35 οὐδεὶς οὐκέτι ἐτόλμα αὐτὸν ἐπερωτῆσαι. Καὶ <sup>ρλδ</sup>  
 ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἔλεγεν διδάσκων ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ Πῶς λέγουσιν <sup>β</sup>  
 36 οἱ γραμματεῖς ὅτι ὁ Χριστὸς υἱὸς Δαυεὶδ ἐστίν; αὐτὸς Δαυεὶδ  
 εἶπεν ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ

Εἶπεν Κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου

ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν σου·

37 αὐτὸς Δαυεὶδ ἐν πνεύματι καλεῖ αὐτὸν κύριον, καὶ πῶς υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἐστίν;

38 Καὶ ὁ πολὺς ὄχλος ἤκουεν αὐτοῦ ἡδέως. Καὶ ἐν τῇ διδαχῇ <sup>ρλε</sup>  
 αὐτοῦ ἔλεγεν Βλέπετε ἀπὸ τῶν γραμματέων τῶν θελούντων ἐν <sup>β</sup>  
 στολαῖς περιπατεῖν καὶ ζητούντων ἀσπασμούς ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς

26. τῆς] ης apparently in rasura by a later hand.

καὶ πρωτοκαθεδρίας ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς καὶ πρωτοκλισίας ἐν τοῖς 39  
 $\frac{\rho\lambda\varsigma}{\beta}$  δέιπνοις, οἱ κατεσθίοντες τὰς οἰκίας τῶν χηρῶν καὶ προφάσει 40  
 μακρὰ προσευχόμενοι· οὗτοι λήφονται περισσότερον κρίμα.

Καὶ καθίσας ἀπέναντι τοῦ γαζοφυλακίου θεώρει πῶς ὁ ὄχλος 41  
 βάλλει χαλκὸν εἰς τὸ γαζοφυλακεῖον· καὶ πολλοὶ πλούσιοι ἐβαλλον  
 πολλά· καὶ ἔλθοῦσα μία χήρα πτωχὴ ἔβαλεν λεπτὰ δύο, ὃ ἐστὶν 42  
 κοδράντης. καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ εἶπεν 43  
 αὐτοῖς Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι ἡ χήρα αὕτη ἡ πτωχὴ πλεῖον πάντων  
 ἔβαλεν τῶν βαλλόντων εἰς τὸ γαζοφυλακεῖον· πάντες γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ 44  
 περισσεύοντος αὐτοῖς ἔβαλον, αὕτη δὲ ἐκ τῆς ὑστερήσεως αὐτῆς  
 πάντα ὅσα εἶχεν ἔβαλεν, καὶ ὅλον τὸν βίον αὐτῆς.

$\frac{\rho\lambda\varsigma}{\beta}$  Καὶ ἐκπορευομένων αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ λέγει αὐτῷ εἰς τῶν XIII

μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ Ἴδε ποταποὶ λίθοι καὶ ποταπαὶ οἰκοδομαί. καὶ ὁ 2

$\frac{\rho\lambda\eta}{\beta}$  Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῷ Βλέπεις ταύτας τὰς μεγάλας οἰκοδομάς; οὐ  
 μὴ ἀφεθῇ ὧδε λίθος ἐπὶ λίθον ὃς οὐ μὴ καταλυθῇ. Καὶ καθη- 3

μένου αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ Ὅρος τῶν Ἑλαιῶν κατέναντι τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐπρωῶτα  
 αὐτὸν κατ' ἰδίαν Πέτρος καὶ Ἰάκωβος καὶ Ἰωάννης καὶ Ἀνδρέας

εἶπον ἡμῖν πότε ταῦτα ἔσται, καὶ τί τὸ σημεῖον ὅταν ταῦτα μέλλῃ 4  
 συντελεῖσθαι ἅπαντα. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἤρξατο λέγειν αὐτοῖς Βλέ- 5

πετε μὴ τις ὑμᾶς πλανήσῃ· πολλοὶ ἐλεύσονται ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί 6  
 μου λέγοντες ὅτι Ἐγὼ εἰμι, καὶ πολλοὺς πλανήσουσιν. ὅταν δὲ 7

ἀκούσητε πολέμους καὶ ἀκοὰς πολέμων, μὴ θροεῖσθε· δεῖ γενέσθαι,  
 ἀλλ' οὕτω τὸ τέλος. ἐγερθήσεται γὰρ ἔθνος ἐπ' ἔθνος καὶ βα- 8

$\frac{\rho\lambda\theta}{\alpha}$  σιλεία ἐπὶ Βασιλείαν, ἔσονται σεισμοὶ κατὰ τόπους, ἔσονται λιμοί·  
 ἀρχὴ ὠδίνων ταῦτα. βλέπετε δὲ ὑμεῖς ἑαυτούς· παραδώσουσιν 9

ὑμᾶς εἰς συνέδρια καὶ εἰς συναγωγὰς δαρήσεσθε καὶ ἐπὶ ἡγεμόνων  
 $\frac{\rho\mu}{\varsigma}$  καὶ βασιλέων σταθήσεσθε ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς. καὶ 10

$\frac{\rho\mu\alpha}{\beta}$  εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη πρῶτον δεῖ κηρυχθῆναι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. καὶ 11  
 ὅταν ἄγωσιν ὑμᾶς παραδιδόντες, μὴ προσμελετᾶτε τί λαλήσητε,

ἀλλ' ὃ ἐὰν δοθῇ ὑμῖν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ τοῦτο λαλεῖτε, οὐ γὰρ ἐστε  
 ὑμεῖς οἱ λαλοῦντες ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον. καὶ παραδώσει 12

ἀδελφὸς ἀδελφὸν εἰς θάνατον καὶ πατὴρ τέκνον, καὶ ἐπαναστή-  
 σονται τέκνα ἐπὶ γονεῖς καὶ θανατώσουσιν αὐτούς· καὶ ἔσεσθε 13

$\frac{\rho\mu\beta}{\epsilon}$  μισούμενοι ὑπὸ πάντων διὰ τὸ ὄνομά μου. ὁ δὲ ὑπομείνας εἰς  
 τέλος οὗτος σωθήσεται. Ὅταν δὲ ἴδῃτε τὸ Βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώ- 14

$\frac{\rho\mu\gamma}{\varsigma}$  σεως ἐστηκὸς ὅπου οὐ δεῖ, ὁ ἀναγινώσκων νοεῖτω, τότε οἱ ἐν τῇ

15 Ἰουδαία φευγέτωσαν εἰς τὰ ὄρη, ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ δώματος μὴ κατα-  
 16 βάτω μηδὲ εἰσελθέτω τι ἄραι ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὁ εἰς τὸν  
 17 ἄγρον μὴ ἐπιστρεψάτω εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω ἄραι τὸ ἱμάτιον αὐτοῦ. οὐαὶ  $\frac{\rho\mu\theta}{\beta}$   
 δὲ ταῖς ἐν γαστρὶ ἐχούσαις καὶ ταῖς θηλαζούσαις ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς  
 18 ἡμέραις. προσεύχεσθε ἵνα μὴ γένηται ἡ φυγὴ ὑμῶν χειμῶνος·  $\frac{\rho\mu\epsilon}{\beta}$   
 19 ἔσονται γὰρ αἱ ἡμέραι ἐκεῖναι θλίψις ὅλα οὐ γέγονεν ἀπ'  $\frac{\rho\mu\varsigma}{\beta}$   
 ἀρχῆς κτίσεως ἣν ἔκτισεν ὁ θεὸς ἕως τοῦ νῦν καὶ οὐ μὴ γένηται.  
 20 καὶ εἰ μὴ ἐκολόβωσεν ὁ θεὸς τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας, οὐκ ἂν ἐσώθη  $\frac{\rho\mu\varsigma}{\beta}$   
 πᾶσα σὰρξ. ἀλλὰ διὰ τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς οὓς ἐξελέξατο ἐκολόβωσεν  
 21 τὰς ἡμέρας. Καὶ τότε ἔάν τις ὑμῖν εἴπῃ Ἴδε ὧδε ὁ Χριστὸς  $\frac{\rho\mu\eta}{\beta}$   
 22 Ἴδε ἐκεῖ, μὴ πιστεύετε· ἐγερθήσονται γὰρ ψευδόχριστοι καὶ ψευ-  $\frac{\rho\mu\theta}{\beta}$   
 δοπροφήται καὶ δώσουσιν σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα πρὸς τὸ ἀποπλανᾶν  
 23· εἰ δυνατόν ἐκλεκτοῦς· ὑμεῖς δὲ βλέπετε· προεῖρηκα ὑμῖν πάντα.  
 24 Ἀλλὰ ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις μετὰ τὴν θλίψιν ἐκείνην ὁ ἥλιος  $\frac{\rho\nu}{\beta}$   
 25 σκοτισθήσεται, καὶ ἡ σελήνη οὐ δώσει τὸ φέγγος αὐτῆς, καὶ οἱ  
 ἀστέρες ἔσονται ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πίπτοντες, καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις αἱ ἐν  
 26 τοῖς οὐρανοῖς σαλευθήσονται. καὶ τότε ὄψονται τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ  
 ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενον ἐν νεφέλαις μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς καὶ δόξης·  
 27 καὶ τότε ἀποστελεῖ τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπισυνάξει τοὺς  $\frac{\rho\nu\alpha}{\beta}$   
 ἐκλεκτοὺς ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων ἀπ' ἄκρου γῆς. ἕως ἄκρου  
 28 τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς συκῆς μάθετε τὴν  
 παραβολὴν· ὅταν ἦδῃ ὁ κλάδος αὐτῆς ἀπαλὸς γένηται καὶ τὰ  
 29 φύλλα ἐκφύῃ, γινώσκετε ὅτι ἐγγὺς τὸ θέρος ἐστίν· οὕτως καὶ  
 ὑμεῖς, ὅταν ἴδῃτε ταῦτα γινόμενα, γινώσκετε ὅτι ἐγγὺς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ  
 30 θύραις. ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ ἡ γενεὰ ταύτη μέχρι  
 31 οὗ ταῦτα πάντα γένηται. ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ παρελεύσονται, οἱ  
 32 δὲ λόγοι μου οὐ μὴ παρέλθωσιν. Περὶ δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ἡ  $\frac{\rho\nu\beta}{\beta}$   
 τῆς ὥρας οὐδεὶς οἶδεν, οὐδὲ οἱ ἄγγελοι οἱ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ οὔτε ὁ  
 33 υἱός, εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ. βλέπετε ἀγρυπνεῖτε καὶ προσεύχεσθε, οὐκ  $\frac{\rho\nu\gamma}{\beta}$   
 34 οἴδατε γὰρ πότε ὁ καιρὸς ἐστίν· ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἀπόδημος ἀφείλ  $\frac{\rho\nu\delta}{\beta}$   
 τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ δούσ τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἐκάστω  $\frac{\rho\nu\epsilon}{\beta}$   
 35 τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῷ θυρωρῷ ἐνετείλατο ἵνα γρηγορῇ. γρη-  $\frac{\rho\nu\epsilon}{\beta}$   
 γορεῖτε οὖν, οὐκ οἴδατε γὰρ πότε ὁ κύριος τῆς οἰκίας ἔρχεται,  
 36 ἡ ὁψὲ ἡ μεσονύκτιον ἡ ἀλεκτοροφωνίας ἡ πρωί, μὴ ἐλθὼν  
 37 ἐξαίφνης εὕρῃ ὑμᾶς καθεύδοντας· ὁ δὲ ὑμῖν λέγω πᾶσιν λέγω,  
 γρηγορεῖτε.



$\frac{\rho\nu\epsilon}{\alpha}$   $\frac{\rho\nu\zeta}{\varsigma}$  ἮΝ δὲ τὰ ἄζυμα καὶ τὸ πάσχα μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας. Καὶ ἐξή- XIV  
 τουν οἱ ἄρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς πῶς αὐτὸν ἐν δόλῳ κρατή-  
 σαντες ἀποκτείνωσιν, ἔλεγον γάρ· Μὴ ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ, μή ποτε ἔσται <sup>2</sup>  
 θόρυβος τοῦ λαοῦ.

$\frac{\rho\nu\eta}{\alpha}$  Καὶ ὄντος αὐτοῦ ἐν Βηθανίᾳ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ Σίμωνος τοῦ λεπροῦ <sup>3</sup>  
 κατακειμένου αὐτοῦ ἦλθεν γυνὴ ἔχουσα ἀλάβαστρον μύρου νάρδου  
 πιστικῆς πολυτελοῦς· συντρίψασα τὴν ἀλάβαστρον κατέχευεν  
 αὐτοῦ τῇ κεφαλῇ. ἦσαν δὲ τινες ἀγανακτοῦντες πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς <sup>4</sup>  
 Εἰς τί ἡ ἀπώλεια αὕτη τοῦ μύρου γέγονεν; ἐδύνατο γὰρ τοῦτο τὸ <sup>5</sup>  
 μύρον πραθῆναι ἐπάνω δηναρίων τριακοσίων καὶ δοθῆναι τοῖς  
 πτωχοῖς· καὶ ἐνεβριμῶντο αὐτῇ. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν Ἀφετε <sup>6</sup>  
 αὐτήν· τί αὐτῇ κόπους παρέχετε; καλὸν ἔργον εἰργάσατο ἐν ἐμοί·  
 $\frac{\rho\nu\theta}{\alpha}$  πάντοτε γὰρ τοὺς πτωχοὺς ἔχετε μεθ' ἑαυτῶν, καὶ ὅταν θέλητε <sup>7</sup>  
 πάντοτε δύνασθε αὐτοῖς εὖ ποιεῖν, ἐμὲ δὲ οὐ πάντοτε ἔχετε· ὁ <sup>8</sup>  
 ἔσχεν ἐποίησεν, προέλαβεν μυρίσαι τὸ σῶμά μου εἰς τὸν ἐντα-  
 φιασμόν. ἀμὴν δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν, ὅπου ἐὰν κηρυχθῇ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον <sup>9</sup>  
 τοῦτο εἰς ὅλον τὸν κόσμον, καὶ ὁ ἐποίησεν αὕτη λαληθήσεται εἰς  
 $\frac{\rho\epsilon}{\beta}$  μνημόσυνον αὐτῆς.

Καὶ Ἰούδας ὁ Ἰσκαριῶθ ὁ εἰς τῶν <sup>10</sup>  
 δώδεκα ἀπῆλθεν πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς ἵνα αὐτὸν παραδῷ αὐτοῖς.  
 οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ἐχάρησαν καὶ ἐπήγγειλαν αὐτῷ ἀργύριον δοῦναι. <sup>11</sup>  
 καὶ ἐζήτει πῶς αὐτὸν εὐκαίρως παραδῷ.

Καὶ τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν ἁζύμων, ὅτε τὸ πάσχα ἔθουν, λέγουσιν <sup>12</sup>  
 αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ· Ποῦ θέλεις ἀπελθόντες ἐτοιμάσωμέν σοι  
 τὸ πάσχα; καὶ ἀποστέλλει δύο τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ λέγει <sup>13</sup>  
 αὐτοῖς Ὑπάγετε εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ἀπαντήσει ὑμῖν ἄνθρωπος  
 κεράμιον ὕδατος βαστάζων· ἀκολουθήσατε αὐτῷ, καὶ ὅπου ἐὰν <sup>14</sup>  
 εἰσέλθῃ εἰπατε τῷ οἰκοδεσπότῃ ὅτι Ὁ διδάσκαλος λέγει· Ποῦ  
 ἐστὶν τὸ κατάλυμά μου ὅπου τὸ πάσχα μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν μου  
 φάγω; καὶ αὐτὸς ὑμῖν δείξει ἀνώγειον μέγα ἐστρωμένον ἐτοιμον· <sup>15</sup>  
 καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐτοιμάσατε ἡμῖν. καὶ ἐξῆλθον οἱ μαθηταὶ καὶ ἦλθον εἰς <sup>16</sup>  
 τὴν πόλιν καὶ εὗρον καθὼς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἡτοίμασαν τὸ  
 πάσχα.

$\frac{\rho\epsilon\alpha}{\beta}$  Καὶ ὀψίας γενομένης ἔρχεται μετὰ τῶν δώδεκα. <sup>17</sup>  
 καὶ ἀνακειμένων αὐτῶν καὶ ἐσθιόντων ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν Ἀμὴν <sup>18</sup>  
 λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι εἰς ἐξ ὑμῶν παραδώσει με ὁ ἐσθίων μετ' ἐμοῦ.  
 $\frac{\rho\epsilon\beta}{\beta}$  ἤρξαντο λυπεῖσθαι καὶ λέγειν αὐτῷ εἰς κατὰ εἰς· Μήτι ἐγώ; <sup>19</sup>  
 $\frac{\rho\epsilon\gamma}{\beta}$  ὁ δὲ λέγει αὐτοῖς· Εἰς τῶν δώδεκα, ὁ ἐμβαπτόμενος μετ' ἐμοῦ εἰς <sup>20</sup>

- 21 τὸ τρύβλιον· ὅτι ὁ μὲν υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὑπάγει καθὼς γέγραπται  $\frac{\rho\epsilon\delta}{5}$   
 περὶ αὐτοῦ, οὐαὶ δὲ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκείνῳ δι' οὗ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου  
 παραδίδοται· καλὸν ἦν αὐτῷ εἰ οὐκ ἐγεννήθη ὁ ἄνθρωπος  
 22 ἐκείνος. Καὶ ἐσθιόντων αὐτῶν λαβὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἄρτον  $\frac{\rho\epsilon\epsilon}{\alpha}$   
 εὐλογῆσας ἔκλασεν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς καὶ εἶπεν Λάβετε, τοῦτο  
 23 ἐστὶν τὸ σῶμά μου. καὶ λαβὼν ποτήριον εὐχαριστήσας ἔδωκεν  $\frac{\rho\epsilon\varsigma}{\beta}$   
 24 αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἔπιον ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες. καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Τοῦτο  
 ἐστὶν τὸ αἱμά μου τῆς διαθήκης τὸ ἐκχυνόμενον ὑπὲρ πολλῶν·  
 25 ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐκέτι σὺ μὴ πῖω ἐκ τοῦ γενήματος τῆς  
 ἀμπέλου ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ὅταν αὐτὸ πίνω καινὸν ἐν τῇ  
 26 βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ. Καὶ ὑμνήσαντες ἐξῆλθον εἰς τὸ  $\frac{\rho\epsilon\varsigma}{5}$   
 27 Ὅρος τῶν Ἐλαιῶν. Καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὅτι  
 Πάντες σκανδαλισθήσεσθε, ὅτι γέγραπται ὅτι Πατάξω τὸν ποι-  $\frac{\rho\epsilon\eta}{5}$   $\frac{\rho\epsilon\theta}{\delta}$   
 28 μένα, καὶ διάσκορπισθήσονται τὰ πρόβατα· ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὸ ἐγερ-  
 29 θῆναί με προῶξ ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν. ὁ δὲ Πέτρος λέγει αὐτῷ  $\frac{\rho\sigma}{\delta}$   
 30 Εἰ καὶ πάντες σκανδαλισθήσονται, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐγώ, καὶ λέγει  
 αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς Ἀμὴν λέγω σοι ὅτι σὺ σήμερον ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ  
 31 πρὶν ἢ δις ἀλέκτορα φωνῆσαι τρίς ἀπαρνήσῃ με. ὁ δὲ ἐκπερισσῶς  $\frac{\rho\sigma\alpha}{\delta}$   
 ἐλάλει Ἐὰν δέ με συναποθανεῖν σοι, σὺ μὴ σε ἀπαρῆγομαι.  
 32 Καὶ ἔρχονται εἰς χωρίον οὗ τὸ ὄνομα Γεσσιμανή, καὶ λέγει τοῖς  $\frac{\rho\sigma\beta}{\delta}$   
 33 μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ Καθίσате ὧδε ἕως προσεύξομαι. καὶ παραλαμ-  $\frac{\rho\sigma\gamma}{5}$   
 βάνει τὸν Πέτρον καὶ τὸν Ἰάκωβον καὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ,  
 34 καὶ ἤρξατο ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι καὶ ἀδημονεῖν, καὶ λέγειν αὐτοῖς Περι-  $\frac{\rho\sigma\delta}{\delta}$   
 λυπὸς ἐστὶν ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἕως θανάτου· μένετε ὧδε καὶ γρηγορεῖτε.  
 35 καὶ προσελθὼν μικρὸν ἐπιπτεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ προσηύχετο ἵνα εἰ  
 36 δυνατόν ἐστιν παρέλθῃ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἡ ὥρα, καὶ ἔλεγεν Ἀββὰ ὁ  $\frac{\rho\sigma\tau}{\alpha}$   
 πατήρ, πάντα δύναται σοι· παρένεγκαι τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἀπ'  $\frac{\rho\sigma\theta}{\beta}$   
 37 ἐμοῦ· ἀλλ' οὐ τί ἐγὼ θέλω ἀλλὰ εἰ τί σύ. καὶ ἔρχεται καὶ  $\frac{\rho\sigma\varsigma}{\beta}$   
 εὐρίσκει αὐτοὺς καθεύδοντας, καὶ λέγει τῷ Πέτρῳ Σίμων, καθεύδεις;  
 38 οὐκ ἴσχυσας μίαν ὥραν γρηγορῆσαι; γρηγορεῖτε καὶ προσεύχεσθε,  
 ἵνα μὴ εἰσέλθῃτε εἰς πειρασμόν· τὸ μὲν πνεῦμα πρόθυμον ἡ δὲ σὰρξ  $\frac{\rho\sigma\eta}{\delta}$   
 39 ἀσθενής. καὶ πάλιν ἀπελθὼν προσηύξατο τῶν αὐτῶν λόγων εἰπών.  
 40 καὶ πάλιν ἐλθὼν εὗρεν αὐτοὺς καθεύδοντας, ἦσαν γὰρ αὐτῶν οἱ  $\frac{\rho\sigma\theta}{5}$   
 ὀφθαλμοὶ καταβαρυνόμενοι, καὶ οὐκ ᾔδεισαν τί ἀποκριθῶσιν αὐτῷ.  
 41 καὶ ἔρχεται τὸ τρίτον καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς Καθεύδετε λοιπόν καὶ  $\frac{\rho\pi}{\alpha}$   
 27. σκανδαλισθήσεσθε] A contemporary hand has added in the margin ἐν ἐμοί.

ἀναπαύεσθε· ἦλθεν ἡ ὥρα, ἰδοὺ παραδίδοται ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου  
 εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν. ἐγείρεσθε ἄγωμεν· ἰδοὺ ὁ παρα- 42  
<sup>ρπα</sup><sub>α</sub> διδούς με ἤγγικεν. Καὶ εὐθὺς ἔτι αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος 43  
 παραγίνεται Ἰούδας εἰς τῶν δώδεκα καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ ὄχλος μετὰ  
 μαχαιρῶν καὶ ξύλων παρὰ τῶν ἀρχιερέων καὶ γραμματέων καὶ τῶν  
<sup>ρπβ</sup><sub>β</sub> πρεσβυτέρων. δεδῶκει δὲ ὁ παραδιδούς αὐτὸν σύσσημον αὐτοῖς 44  
 λέγων Ἄν φιλήσω οὗτός ἐστιν· κρατήσατε αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπα-  
 γάγετε ἀσφαλῶς. καὶ ἔλθων εὐθὺς προσελθὼν αὐτῷ λέγει Ῥαββί, 45  
 καὶ κατεφίλησεν αὐτόν. οἱ δὲ ἐπέβαλον τὰς χεῖρας ἐπ' αὐτόν καὶ 46  
<sup>ρπγ</sup><sub>α</sub> ἔκράτησαν αὐτόν. εἰς δὲ τῶν παρεστηκότων σπασάμενος τὴν 47  
 μάχαιραν ἔπαισεν τὸν δούλον τοῦ ἀρχιερέως Καϊάφα καὶ ἀφείλεν  
<sup>ρπδ</sup><sub>α</sub> αὐτοῦ τὸ ὠτόριον. καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Ὡς 48  
 ἐπὶ ληστὴν ἐξήλλατε μετὰ μαχαιρῶν καὶ ξύλων συλλαβεῖν με·  
 καθ' ἡμέραν ἤμην πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ διδάσκων καὶ οὐκ ἔκρα- 49  
<sup>ρπε</sup><sub>β</sub> τείτέ με· ἀλλ' ἵνα πληρωθῶσιν αἱ γραφαί. καὶ ἀφέντες αὐτὸν 50  
<sup>ρπε</sup><sub>γ</sub> ἔφυγον πάντες. Καὶ νεανίσκος τις συνηκολούθει αὐτῷ περιβεβλη- 51  
 μένος σινδόνα ἐπὶ γυμνοῦ, καὶ κρατοῦσιν αὐτόν, ὁ δὲ καταλιπὼν 52  
 τὴν σινδόνα ἔφυγεν γυμνός.  
<sup>ρπζ</sup><sub>α</sub> Καὶ ἀπήγαγον τὸν Ἰησοῦν πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιερέα, καὶ συνέρχονται 53  
 αὐτῷ πάντες οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς.  
<sup>ρπη</sup><sub>β</sub> καὶ ὁ Πέτρος μακρόθεν ἠκολούθει αὐτῷ ἕως ἔσω εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν τοῦ 54  
 ἀρχιερέως, καὶ ἦν συνακαθήμενος μετὰ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν καὶ θερμαινό-  
<sup>ρπθ</sup><sub>β</sub> μενος πρὸς τὸ φῶς. οἱ δὲ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ ὅλον τὸ συνέδριον ἐζήτουν 55  
 κατὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ μαρτυρίαν εἰς τὸ θανατώσαι αὐτόν, καὶ οὐχ  
 ἠῤῥισκον· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐψευδομαρτύρουν κατὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ ἴσαι 56  
<sup>ρῃ</sup><sub>α</sub> αἱ μαρτυρίαι οὐκ ἦσαν. καὶ τινες ἀναστάντες ἐψευδομαρτύρουν 57  
 κατ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντες ὅτι Ἡμεῖς ἠκούσαμεν αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ὅτι 58  
 Ἐγὼ καταλύσω τοῦτον τὸν χειροποίητον τὸν ναὸν καὶ διὰ τριῶν  
 ἡμερῶν ἄλλον ἀχειροποίητον οἰκοδομήσω· καὶ οὐδὲ οὕτως ἴση ἦν ἡ 59  
 μαρτυρία αὐτῶν. καὶ ἀναστὰς ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἔστη εἰς τὸ μέσον καὶ 60  
 ἐπηρώτησεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν λέγων Οὐκ ἀποκρίνη οὐδέν ὃ τι οὗτοί  
 σου καταμαρτυροῦσιν; ὁ δὲ ἐσιώπα καὶ οὐκ ἀπεκρίνατο οὐδέν.  
<sup>ρῃα</sup><sub>α</sub> πάλιν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐπηρώτα αὐτόν καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ Σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστὸς 61  
 ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ εὐλογημένου; ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν Ἐγὼ εἰμι, καὶ 62  
 ὤψεσθε τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκ δεξιῶν καθήμενον τῆς δυνάμεως  
<sup>ρῃβ</sup><sub>β</sub> καὶ ἐρχόμενον μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς 63

διαρρήξας τοὺς χιτῶνας αὐτοῦ λέγει Τί ἔτι χρείαν ἔχομεν μαρ-<sup>ρ4γ</sup>  
 64 τύρων; ἡκούσατε τῆς βλασφημίας; τί ὑμῖν φαίνεται; οἱ δὲ πάντες <sup>β</sup>  
 65 κατέκριναν αὐτὸν ἔνοχον εἶναι θανάτου. Καὶ ἤρξαντο τινες ἐμ-<sup>ρ4δ</sup>  
 πτύειν αὐτῷ καὶ περικαλύπτειν αὐτοῦ τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ κολαφίζειν <sup>α</sup>  
 αὐτὸν καὶ λέγειν αὐτῷ Προφήτευσον ἡμῖν. καὶ οἱ ὑπηρέται  
 66 ραπίσμασιν αὐτὸν ἔλαβον. Καὶ ὄντος τοῦ Πέτρου ἐν <sup>ρ4ε</sup>  
 67 τῇ αὐλῇ ἔρχεται μία τῶν παιδισκῶν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, καὶ ἰδοῦσα τὸν <sup>α</sup>  
 Πέτρον θερμαινόμενον ἐμβλέψασα αὐτῷ λέγει Καὶ σὺ μετὰ τοῦ  
 68 Ναζαρηνοῦ ἦσθα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ· ὁ δὲ ἡρνήσατο λέγων Οὔτε οἶδα  
 οὔτε ἐπίσταμαι σὺ τί λέγεις. καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἔξω εἰς τὸ προαύλιον. <sup>ρ4ε</sup>  
 69 καὶ ἡ παιδίσκη ἰδοῦσα αὐτὸν ἤρξατο πάλιν λέγειν τοῖς παρεστῶσιν <sup>α</sup>  
 70 ὅτι Οὗτος ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐστίν. ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἡρνεῖτο. καὶ μετὰ  
 μικρὸν οἱ παρεστῶτες ἔλεγον τῷ Πέτρῳ Ἀληθῶς ἐξ αὐτῶν  
 71 εἶ, καὶ γὰρ Γαλιλαῖος εἶ· ὁ δὲ ἤρξατο ἀναθεματίζειν καὶ ὀμνύειν  
 72 ὅτι Οὐκ οἶδα τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον ὃν λέγετε. καὶ ἐκ δευτέρου <sup>ρ4ς</sup>  
 ἀλέκτωρ ἐφώνησεν· καὶ ἀνεμνήσθη ὁ Πέτρος τὸ ῥῆμα ὡς εἶπεν <sup>β</sup>  
 αὐτῷ Ἰησοῦς ὅτι Πρὶν ἀλέκτορα φωνῆσαι δις τρίς με ἀπαρνήσῃ,  
 καὶ ἐπιβαλὼν ἔκλαιεν.

ΧV Καὶ εὐθὺς πρῶτῳ συμβούλιον ποιήσαντες οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς μετὰ τῶν <sup>ρ4η</sup>  
 πρεσβυτέρων καὶ γραμματέων καὶ ὅλον τὸ συνέδριον δῆσαντες τὸν <sup>β</sup>  
 2 Ἰησοῦν ἀπήνεγκαν καὶ παρέδωκαν Πιλάτῳ. καὶ ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτὸν <sup>α</sup>  
 ὁ Πιλάτος Σὺ εἶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων; ἀποκριθεὶς <sup>σ</sup>  
 3 αὐτῷ λέγει Σὺ λέγεις. καὶ κατηγοροῦν αὐτοῦ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς πολλά, <sup>α</sup>  
 4 αὐτὸς δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο. ὁ δὲ Πιλάτος πάλιν ἐπηρώτα αὐτὸν <sup>α</sup>  
 5 λέγων Οὐκ ἀποκρίνη οὐδέν; ἴδε πόσα σου κατηγοροῦσιν. ὁ δὲ  
 Ἰησοῦς οὐκ ἐτι οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίθη, ὥστε θαυμάζειν τὸν Πιλάτον.  
 6 Κατὰ δὲ ἑορτὴν ἀπέλυνεν αὐτοῖς ἓνα δέσμιον ὃν περ ἤτουντο. ἦν <sup>σβ</sup>  
 7 δὲ ὁ λεγόμενος Βαραββᾶς μετὰ τῶν στασιαστῶν δεδεμένος οἷτινες <sup>β</sup>  
 8 ἐν τῇ στάσει φόνον πεποιήκασιν. καὶ ἀναβοήσας ὁ ὄχλος ἤρξατο <sup>δ</sup>  
 9 αἰτεῖσθαι καθὼς ἐπολεῖ αὐτοῖς. ὁ δὲ Πιλάτος ἀπεκρίθη αὐτοῖς  
 10 λέγων Θέλετε ἀπολύσω ὑμῖν τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἰουδαίων; ἐγί-  
 νωσκεν γὰρ ὅτι διὰ φθόνον παραδεδώκεισαν αὐτὸν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς.  
 11 οἱ δὲ ἀρχιερεῖς ἀνέσεισαν τὸν ὄχλον ἵνα μᾶλλον τὸν Βαραββᾶν <sup>σδ</sup>  
 12 ἀπολύσῃ αὐτοῖς. ὁ δὲ Πιλάτος πάλιν ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς <sup>α</sup>  
<sup>σε</sup>  
<sup>α</sup>

68. A contemporary or slightly later hand adds in the margin καὶ ἀλέκτωρ ἐφώνησεν.  
 2. Ἰουδαίων is written in rasure.

Τί οὖν ποιήσω ὃν λέγετε τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἰουδαίων; οἱ δὲ 13  
 πάλιν ἔκραζαν Σταύρωσον αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ Πιλάτος ἔλεγεν Τί 14  
 γὰρ ἐποίησεν κακόν; οἱ δὲ περισσῶς ἔκραζαν Σταύρωσον αὐτόν.  
<sup>στ</sup><sub>α</sub> ὁ δὲ Πιλάτος βουλόμενος τῷ ὄχλῳ τὸ ἱκανὸν ποιῆσαι ἀπέλυσεν 15  
 αὐτοῖς τὸν Βαραββᾶν, καὶ παρέδωκεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν φραγελλώσας  
 ἵνα σταυρωθῇ.  
<sup>σζ</sup><sub>δ</sub> Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἀπήγαγον αὐτὸν ἔσω τῆς αὐλῆς, ὃ ἐστὶν πραι- 16  
 τώριον, καὶ συνκαλοῦσιν ὅλην τὴν σπεῖραν. καὶ ἐνδιδύσκουσιν 17  
 αὐτὸν πορφύραν καὶ περιτιθέασιν αὐτῷ πλέξαντες ἀκάνθινον  
 στέφανον· καὶ ἤρξαντο αὐτὸν ἀσπάζεσθαι Χαῖρε, βασιλεῦ τῶν 18  
 Ἰουδαίων· καὶ ἐτυπτον αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν καλᾶμψ καὶ ἐνέπτουν 19  
<sup>ση</sup><sub>ε</sub> αὐτῷ, καὶ τιθέντες τὰ γόνατα προσεκύνουν αὐτῷ. καὶ ὅτε ἐνέ- 20  
 παιζαν αὐτῷ, ἐξέδυσαν αὐτὸν τὴν πορφύραν καὶ ἐνέδυσαν αὐτὸν τὰ  
<sup>σθ</sup><sub>α</sub> ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ. Καὶ ἐξάγουσιν αὐτὸν ἔξω ἵνα σταυρώσω-  
 σιν αὐτόν· καὶ ἀγαγεῖν οὖσιν παράγοντά τινα Σίμωνα Κυρηναῖον 21  
 ἐρχόμενον ἀπ' ἀγροῦ, τὸν πατέρα Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ῥούφου, ἵνα  
<sup>σι</sup><sub>α</sub> ἄρῃ τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ. καὶ φέρουσιν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν Γολγοθὰν 22  
<sup>σιβ</sup><sub>α</sub> τόπον, ὃ ἐστὶν μεθερμηνευσόμενον Κρανίου Τόπος. καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ 23  
<sup>σιβ</sup><sub>α</sub> ἐσμυρνισμένον οἶνον, ὃ δὲ οὐκ ἔλαβεν. καὶ σταυροῦσιν αὐτὸν καὶ 24  
<sup>α</sup> διαμερίζονται τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ, βάλλοντες κλῆρον ἐπ' αὐτὰ τίς τί  
<sup>σιγ</sup><sub>ι</sub> ἄρῃ. ἦν δὲ ὥρα τρίτη καὶ ἐσταύρωσαν αὐτόν. καὶ ἦν ἡ ἐπιγραφή 25  
<sup>α</sup> τῆς αἰτίας αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένη Ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων. Καὶ 26  
<sup>σιε</sup><sub>α</sub> σὺν αὐτῷ σταυροῦσιν δύο ληστὰς, ἓνα ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ ἓνα ἐξ 27  
<sup>σιε</sup><sub>α</sub> εὐωνύμων αὐτοῦ. Καὶ οἱ παραπορευόμενοι ἐβλασφήμουν αὐτὸν 29  
<sup>η</sup> κινοῦντες τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν καὶ λέγοντες Ὁ καταλύων τὸν ναὸν  
 καὶ οἰκοδομῶν ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις, σῶσον σεαυτὸν καταβὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ 30  
<sup>σιζ</sup><sub>ε</sub> σταυροῦ. ὁμοίως καὶ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ἐμπαίζοντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους 31  
 μετὰ τῶν γραμματέων ἔλεγον Ἄλλους ἔσωσεν, ἑαυτὸν οὐ δύναται  
 σῶσαι· ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰσραὴλ καταβάτω νῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ 32  
<sup>σιη</sup><sub>β</sub> σταυροῦ, ἵνα ἴδωμεν καὶ πιστεύσωμεν. καὶ οἱ συνεσταυρωμένοι  
<sup>σιθ</sup><sub>β</sub> μετ' αὐτοῦ ὠνείδιζον αὐτόν. Καὶ γενομένης ὥρας ἑκτῆς 33  
<sup>σκ</sup><sub>β</sub> σκότος ἐγένετο ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν γῆν ἕως ὥρας ἐνάτης. καὶ τῇ ἐνάτῃ 34  
<sup>β</sup> ὥρᾳ ἐβόησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς φωνῇ μεγάλῃ Ἐλωὶ, ἔλωὶ, λεμὰ σαβαχθανι;  
<sup>σκα</sup><sub>β</sub> ὃ ἐστὶν μεθερμηνευσόμενον Ὁ θεός μου, ὁ θεός μου, εἰς τί  
<sup>σκβ</sup><sub>β</sub> ἔγκατέλιπές με; καὶ τινες τῶν παρεστηκότων ἀκούσαντες ἔλεγον 35  
<sup>β</sup> Ἴδε Ἠλίαν φωνεῖ. δραμὼν δέ τις γεμίσας σπόγγον ὄξους περι-

θεὸς καλὰ μὲν ἐπότηζεν αὐτόν, λέγων Ἀφετε ἴδωμεν εἰ ἔρχεται  $\frac{\sigma\kappa\gamma}{\alpha}$   
 37 Ἥλίας καθελείν αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἀφείς φωνὴν μεγάλην  $\frac{\sigma\kappa\delta}{\beta}$   
 38 ἐξέπνευσεν. Καὶ τὸ καταπέτασμα τοῦ ναοῦ ἐσχίσθη εἰς δύο ἀπ'  $\frac{\sigma\kappa\epsilon}{\beta}$   
 39 ἄνωθεν ἕως κάτω. Ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ κεντυρίων ὁ παρεστηκὼς ἐξ ἔναν-  
 τίας αὐτοῦ ὅτι οὕτως ἐξέπνευσεν εἶπεν Ἀληθῶς οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος  $\frac{\sigma\kappa\epsilon}{\beta}$   
 40 υἱὸς θεοῦ ἦν. Ἦσαν δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες ἀπὸ μακρόθεν θεωροῦσαι, ἐν  $\frac{\sigma\kappa\epsilon}{\epsilon}$   
 αἷς ἦν καὶ Μαριάμ ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ καὶ Μαρία ἡ Ἰακώβου τοῦ μικροῦ  
 41 καὶ ἡ Ἰωσή μήτηρ καὶ Σαλώμη, αἱ ὅτε ἦν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ ἡκολού-  
 θουν καὶ δικήνουν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἄλλαι πολλαὶ συναναβάσαι αὐτῷ  
 εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα.  
 42 Καὶ ἡδὴ ὀψίας γενομένης, ἐπεὶ ἦν παρασκευή, ὃ ἐστὶν προσάβ-  $\frac{\sigma\kappa\zeta}{\alpha}$   
 43 βατον, ἐλθὼν Ἰωσήφ ὁ ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθαίας εὐσχήμων βουλευτής, ὃς  
 καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν προσδεχόμενος τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, τολμήσας  
 εἰσῆλθεν πρὸς τὸν Πιλάτον καὶ ᾐτήσατο τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ.  
 44 ὁ δὲ Πιλάτος ἐθαύμασεν εἰ ἡδὴ τέθνηκεν, καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος τὸν  
 45 κεντυρίωνα ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτὸν εἰ πάλαι ἀπέθανεν· καὶ γνοὺς ἀπὸ  $\frac{\rho\kappa\eta}{\alpha}$   
 46 τοῦ κεντυρίωνος ἐδώρησατο τὸ σῶμα τῷ Ἰωσήφ. καὶ ἀγοράσας  
 σινδόνα καθελὼν αὐτὸν ἐνέκλιεν τῇ σινδόνι καὶ ἔθηκεν αὐτὸν ἐν  
 μνημείῳ ὃ ἦν λελατομημένον ἐκ πέτρας, καὶ προσεκύλισεν λίθον  $\frac{\rho\kappa\theta}{\beta}$   
 47 ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν τοῦ μνημείου. Ἡ δὲ Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ καὶ  
 Μαρία ἡ Ἰωσήτος ἐθεώρουν ποῦ τέθειται.  
 XVI Καὶ διαγενομένου τοῦ σαββάτου Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ καὶ  $\frac{\rho\lambda}{\eta}$   
 Μαρία ἡ Ἰακώβου καὶ Σαλώμη ἡγόρασαν ἀρώματα ἵνα ἐλθοῦσαι  
 2 ἀλείψωσιν αὐτόν. καὶ λίαν πρῶτὴ τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων  $\frac{\rho\lambda\alpha}{\alpha}$   
 3 ἔρχονται ἐπὶ τὸ μνημεῖον ἀνατείλαντος τοῦ ἡλίου. καὶ ἔλεγον  
 πρὸς ἑαυτάς, Τίς ἀποκυλίσει ἡμῖν τὸν λίθον ἀπὸ τῆς θύρας  
 4 τοῦ μνημείου; καὶ ἀναβλέψασαι θεωροῦσιν ὅτι ἀποκεκύλισται  
 5 ὁ λίθος, ἦν γὰρ μέγας σφόδρα. καὶ εἰσελθοῦσαι εἰς τὸ μνη-  
 μεῖον ἴδον νεανίσκον καθήμενον ἐν τοῖς δεξιοῖς περιβεβλημένον  $\frac{\rho\lambda\beta}{\beta}$   
 6 στολὴν λευκὴν, καὶ ἐξεθαμβήθησαν. ὁ δὲ λέγει αὐταῖς Μὴ  
 ἐκθαμβείσθε· Ἰησοῦν ζητεῖτε τὸν Ναζαρηνὸν τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον·  
 7 ἡγέρθη, οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε· ἴδε ὁ τόπος ὅπου ἔθηκαν αὐτόν· ἀλλὰ

At the top of f. 14 is κ (v suprascr.) Ἰ ἀπο του πασ (χ suprascr.) η τ (ω suprascr.) παθὼν εὐαγγ (ε suprascr.) and v. 43 ἐλθὼν is marked ἀρ (χ suprascr.) in the margin. At the end of v. 47 is noted τ (ε suprascr.) τ (ω suprascr.) πα (θ suprascr.). At the beginning of xvi. 1, is ἀρ (χ suprascr.), and in the margin εὐαγγ (ε suprascr.) ἐω (θ suprascr.) ἀνασ (τ suprascr.).

ὑπάγετε εἴπατε τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ Πέτρῳ ὅτι Προάγει  
 ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν· ἐκεῖ αὐτὸν ὄψεσθε, καθὼς εἶπεν ὑμῖν.  
 ρλγ  
 7 καὶ ἐξελθοῦσαι ἔφωγον ἀπὸ τοῦ μνημείου, εἶχεν γὰρ αὐτὰς τρόμος 8  
 καὶ ἔκστασις· καὶ οὐδὲν οὐδὲν εἶπον, ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ· πάντα δὲ  
 τὰ παρηγγελμένα τοῖς περὶ τὸν Πέτρον συντόμως ἐξήγγειλαν·  
 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ αὐτοὺς Ἰησοὺς ἐφάνη ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς καὶ μέχρι  
 δύσεως ἐξαπέστειλεν δι' αὐτῶν τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἄφθαρτον κήρυγμα  
 τῆς αἰωνίου σωτηρίας, ἀμήν.

ἔστιν καὶ ταῦτα φερόμενα

μετὰ τὸ ἐφοφοῦντο γάρ·

Ἀναστὰς δὲ πρῶτῃ πρώτῃ σαββάτου ἐφάνη πρῶτον Μαρίᾳ τῇ 9  
 Μαγδαληνῇ, παρ' ἧς ἐκβεβλήκει ἑπτὰ δαιμόνια. ἐκείνη πορευ- 10  
 θεῖσα ἀπήγγειλεν τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ γενομένοις πενθοῦσι καὶ κλαίουσιν·  
 ἐκείνοι ἀκούσαντες ὅτι ζῇ καὶ ἐθεάθη ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἠπίστησαν. Μετὰ 11  
 δὲ ταῦτα δυσὶν ἐξ αὐτῶν περιπατοῦσιν ἐφανερῶθη ἐν ἐτέρᾳ μορφῇ 12  
 πορευομένοις εἰς ἀγρόν· ἀκείνοι ἀπελθόντες ἀπήγγειλαν τοῖς 13  
 λοιποῖς· οὐδὲ ἐκείνοις ἐπίστευσαν. Ὑστερον ἀνακειμένοις αὐτοῖς 14  
 τοῖς ἑνδεκα ἐφανερῶθη, καὶ ὠνείδισεν τὴν ἀπιστίαν αὐτῶν καὶ  
 σκληροκαρδίαν ὅτι τοῖς θεασαμένοις αὐτὸν ἐγγεγερμένον οὐκ ἐπί-  
 στευσαν. καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Πορευθέντες εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἅπαντα 15  
 κηρύξατε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον πάσῃ τῇ κτίσει. ὁ πιστεύσας καὶ βα- 16  
 πτισθεὶς σωθήσεται, ὁ δὲ ἀπιστήσας κατακριθήσεται. σημεῖα δὲ 17  
 τοῖς πιστεύουσιν ἀκολουθήσει ταῦτα, ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου δαιμόνια  
 ἐκβαλοῦσιν, γλώσσαις λαλήσουσιν, καὶ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ὄφεις 18  
 ἄρουσιν καὶ θανάσιμόν τι πῶσιν οὐ μὴ αὐτοὺς βλάψει, ἐπὶ  
 ἄρρώστους χεῖρας ἐπιθήσουσιν καὶ καλῶς ἔξουσιν. Ὁ μὲν οὖν 19  
 κύριος μετὰ τὸ λαλήσαι αὐτοῖς ἀνελήφθη εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ  
 ἐκάθισεν ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ. ἐκείνοι δὲ ἐξελθόντες ἐκήρυξαν 20  
 πανταχοῦ, τοῦ κυρίου συνεργοῦντος καὶ τὸν λόγον βεβαιοῦντος διὰ  
 τῶν ἐπακολουθούντων σημείων. ἀμήν.

εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Μάρκον

8. τ (ε suprascr.) is added after γάρ.

9. In the margin is written ἀναστασιμ (ο suprascr.) ἔωθιν (ο suprascr.)  
 ἀρ (χ suprascr.). There is no corresponding τέλος.

### III. THE TEXT OF COD. Ψ IN ST. LUKE AND ST. JOHN AND COLOSSIANS.

As the text of cod. Ψ is much less interesting in these Gospels than it is in the fragment which remains of St. Mark, it has been thought sufficient to give a collation of the text of the codex with Lloyd's reprint of the text of Stephanus, ed. 1550. It will be seen that there are a fair number of variants, but that few of them are of first-rate importance.

#### ST. LUKE.

I 1 παρέδωσαν 3 ἄνωθεν *om.* 5 *ante* βασιλέως *om.* τοῦ  
καὶ γυνὴ αὐτῷ 6 ἐναντίον *pro* ἐνώπιον 7 ἦν *ante* ἡ 9  
Θεοῦ *pro* Κυρίου 10 ἦν τοῦ λαοῦ 15 Θεοῦ *pro* Κυρίου  
20 ἄχρις ἧς 21 αὐτὸν *post* ναῶ 25 οὕτως 26 ἀπὸ  
*pro* ὑπὸ 28 ὁ ἄγγελος *om.* εὐλογημένη σὺ ἐν γυναῖξιν *om.*  
29 ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ λόγου διαταράχθη διελογίζετο ἐν ἑαυτῇ λέγουσα  
36 γήρει 38 Μαρία 39 ὀρινῇ 41 ἡ Ἑλισάβετ  
*post* Μαρίας 50 γενεὰν καὶ γενεὰν 55 ἕως αἰῶνος 56 ὡς  
*pro* ὡσεὶ 61 ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας 65 ὀρινῇ 66 ἀκούοντες  
75 τῆς ζωῆς *om.* 78 ἡμῶν *pro* αὐτῶν

II 3 ἑαυτοῦ *pro* ἰδίαν 4 Ναζαρέθ 8 τῇ ποιμνῇ 9 Θεοῦ  
*pro* Κυρίου 12 καὶ κείμενον ἐν φάτνῃ 18 ἀκούοντες 20 ὑπέ-  
στρεψαν ἴδον 21 αὐτὸν *pro* τὸ παιδίον 22 Μωυσέως  
25 ἦν ἅγιον 26 πρὶν ἢ ἂν 30 ἴδον 35 δὲ *om.* 36 ἔτη  
*post* μετὰ ἀνδρὸς 37 ἕως *pro* ὡς 38 αὕτη *om.* 39 ἑαυτῶν  
Ναζαρέθ 40 σοφίᾳ 51 Ναζαράθ

III 1 δὲ *om.* Ἀβιδυνῆς 2 ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως 8 δόξῃτε *pro*  
ἀρξήσθε 12 εἶπαν 14 ποιήσωμεν 23 ἀρχόμενος τριάκοντα  
24 υἱὸς *ante* ὡς ἐνομίζετο Ἠλεί 25 Ἑσλίμ 26 Σεμεεί  
27 Ἰωανάν 32 Ἰωβήδ 33 Ἀράμ, τοῦ Ἰωράμ 34 Θάρρα  
35 Σερούχ 37 Ἰαρέθ

IV 1 πλήρης *ante* πνεύματος 4 ὁ *supra* lineam 6 καὶ  
φ' εἰς θέλω δίδωμι αὐτὴν *om.* 7 πᾶσα *pro* πάντα 8 ὁ Ἰησοῦς



εἶπεν 9 *ante* υἱὸς *om.* ὁ 12 ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῷ 16 Ναζαρέθ  
 17 τοῦ προφήτου Ἡσαίου 18 εἵνεκεν εὐαγγελίσασθαι 20 οἱ  
 ὀφθαλμοὶ ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ 22 οὐχὶ 23 γενάμενα Καφαρναούμ  
 25 ὅτι πολλοὶ 26 Σάρεφθα τῆς Σιδωνίας 27 ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ  
*ante* ἐπὶ Ναϊμὰν 29 τῆς 2<sup>ο</sup> *om.* 33 λέγον 35 εἰς  
 μέσον 38 ἡ *om.* 42 ἐπεξήτουν 44 εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς

V 2 ἶδεν πλοίαρμα 5 χαλάσωμεν 6 πλῆθος ἰχθύων  
 7 τοῖς 2<sup>ο</sup> *om.* ἐπλήσθησαν 14 Μωνοῦς ἐπ' αὐτούς *pro*  
*αὐτοῖς* 19 *ante* ποίας *om.* διὰ 20 ἀφένται 21 εἰς  
*pro* μόνος 23 ἔγειρε 24 παραλυτικῷ ἔγειρε 26 ἴδομεν  
 28 πάντα *pro* ἅπαντα 29 *ante* Λευὶς *om.* ὁ πολλὸς τελωνῶν  
 30 τῶν τελωνῶν 31 ἰσχύοντες *pro* ὑγιαίνοντες 36 σχίσαι  
 συμφωνήσει ἐπίβλημα *om.* 37 ὁ οἶνος ὁ νέος

VI 3 ὁ Ἰησοῦς *ante* πρὸς ὅτε *pro* ὁπότε 5 εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ  
 Ἰησοῦς 7 παρετηροῦντο αὐτὸν *om.* *ante* σαββάτῳ *om.* τῷ  
 θεραπεύει κατηγορήσωσιν *pro* εὕρωσι κατηγορίαν 8 ἔγειρε  
 καὶ *pro* ὁ δὲ 9 ὑμᾶς τι, *pro* ὑμᾶς, τί 10 εἶπεν αὐτῷ *pro*  
 εἶπε τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ οὕτω *om.* ἀπεκατεστάθη ὑγιὲς *om.*  
 11 ἐλάλουν *pro* διελάλουν 17 ὁ ὄχλος 18 καὶ 2<sup>ο</sup> *om.* 19 ἐξή-  
 τουν 23 χάριτε τὰ αὐτὰ *pro* ταῦτα 26 τὰ αὐτὰ *pro*  
 ταῦτα 27 ἀλλὰ 28 καὶ *om.* 34 γὰρ οἱ *om.*  
 35 τοῦ *om.* 36 ἵνα *pro* καὶ οὐ 44 σταφυλὰς τρυγῶσι  
 45 ἄνθρωπος 2<sup>ο</sup> *om.* τοῦ 3<sup>ο</sup> *om.* τῆς 2<sup>ο</sup> *om.*

VII 1 Καφαρναούμ 2 ἐμελλεν 3 οὗτος ἀκούσας περὶ  
 4 παρέξη τούτῳ 6 φίλους ὁ ἑκατοντάρχης μου *ante* ὑπὸ  
 7 ἀλλὰ μόνον 10 εἰς τὸν οἶκον οἱ πεμφθέντες 12 μονο-  
 γενὴς υἱὸς ἦν *om.* 13 ἐπ' αὐτήν 17 *ante* πάσῃ *om.* ἐν  
 19 ἕτερον *pro* ἄλλον 20 ἕτερον *pro* ἄλλον 21 δὲ *om.*  
 22 ὅτι *om.* καὶ χωλοὶ 27 οὗτος γὰρ 28 γὰρ *om.*  
 τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ *om.* 31 εἶπε δὲ ὁ Κύριος *om.* 35 πάντων *om.*  
 38 ὀπίσω *ante* παρὰ τοῖς δάκρυσι *ante* ἤρξατο τῆς κεφαλῆς *om.*  
 ἐξέμαξεν 41 χρεοφειλέται 42 ἀγαπήσει αὐτόν 44 μοι  
 ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας τῆς κεφαλῆς *om.* 47 ἀφένται 48 ἀφένται

VIII 2 Μαριάμ 8 καλὴν *pro* ἀγαθὴν 13 τὸν λόγον *ante*  
 μετὰ χαρᾶς 16 λυχνίαν 17 μὴ γνωσθῇ *pro* οὐ γνωσθήσεται  
 21 αὐτόν *om.* 23 συνεπληροῦτο 24 ἐπαύσατο γαλήνῃ  
 μεγάλῃ 25 ἐστιν 1<sup>ο</sup> *om.* πρὸς ἀλλήλους λέγοντες 26 ἀντί-  
 περα 27 αὐτῷ 2<sup>ο</sup> *om.* 29 παρήγγειλεν ἐδεσμεύετο δαι-  
 μονίου *pro* δαίμονος 30 ὄνομά ἐστιν 33 εἰσηλθον 34 ἀπελ-  
 θόντες *om.* 39 σοι ἐποίησεν 43 ἰατροῖς *pro* εἰς ἰατροὺς βίον  
 αὐτῆς 44 ὅπισθεν *om.* 45 τίς μου ἤψατο *pro* τίς ἀψάμενός

μον 2° 47 αὐτῷ 2° om. 51 ἐλθὼν Ἰωάννην καὶ Ἰάκωβον  
54 ἔγειρε

IX 1 ἀποστόλους *pro* μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ 2 ἀσθενεῖς 3 ῥάβδον  
5 δέχονται καὶ 2° om. 7 γενόμενα 8 τις *pro* εἰς  
10 πάντα ὅσα ἔρημον πόλεως om. *et* καλούμενον *pro* καλουμένης  
11 ἀποδεξάμενος 16 ἠλόγησεν παραθεῖναι 17 πάντες  
αὐτε καὶ ἐχορτάσθησαν ἦραν *pro* ἦρθη sed non κοφίνους  
20 Πέτρος εἶπε ὁ 24 ἐὰν *pro* ἂν 25 ὠφελήσει 27 ἐστώτων  
γεύσονται 30 Μωσῆς 31 ἤμελλε 33 Πέτρος εἶπε ὁ  
σοὶ μίαν Μωσῇ Ἠλία μίαν 35 ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν ᾧ ἠιδό-  
κησα 36 Ἰησοῦς εἶπε ὁ 38 ἐβόησεν διδάσκαλε om.  
ἐπιβλέψαι 40 αὐτὸ ἐκβάλωσιν 41 ἕως πότε *pro* καὶ 2°  
μοι τὸν υἱόν σου ὤδε 43 εἶπεν δὲ 46 τίς αὐτῶν δοκεῖ εἶναι  
μείζων 48 ἂν *pro* ἐὰν bis οὕτως *pro* οὕτος 49 ἐν *pro*  
ἐπὶ τὰ om. 50 ὑμῶν bis 55 καὶ εἶπεν . . . σῶσαι  
57 ἐὰν *pro* ἂν 62 ὁ Ἰησοῦς πρὸς αὐτὸν

X 1 ἤμελλεν 2 ἐκβάλῃ 4 βαλλάντιον 6 μὲν om.  
8 ὁ om. 13 Χοραζεῖν καθήμενοι 14 ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ *pro*  
κρίσει 21 εὐδοκία ἐγένετο 22 μοι παρεδόθη 24 ἴδον  
32 τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον 35 αὐτῷ om. 36 πλησίον δοκεῖ σοι  
39 Μαριάμ 42 Μαρία γὰρ

XI 4 ἀφίμεν παντὶ τῷ 5 ἐρεῖ *pro* εἶπη 8 φίλον αὐτοῦ  
11 ἢ *pro* εἰ 13 αὐτε ἐξ οὐρανοῦ om. ὁ 15 τῷ ἄρχοντι 17 μερι-  
σθεῖσα καθ' ἑαυτήν 19 αὐτοὶ αὐτε κριταὶ 23 σκορπίζει με  
25 σχολάζοντα σεσαρωμένον 31 Σολωμῶνος bis 34 καὶ 1° om.  
36 τι om. 41 ἅπαντα *pro* πάντα 42 ἀλλὰ 50 ἐκδικηθῇ  
*pro* ἐκζητηθῇ 54 αὐτὸν καὶ om.

XII 4 ἀποκτεινόντων 5 ἔχοντα ἐξουσίαν αὐτε γένεσαν  
om. τὴν 6 πωλοῦνται 8 ἐὰν *pro* ἂν 11 μερμυήσῃτε  
15 αὐτῷ *pro* αὐτοῦ 2° 16 ὑψόφωρσεν 28 σήμερον ἐν ἀγρῷ ὄντα  
29 πίετε 31 αὐτοῦ *pro* τοῦ Θεοῦ 32 ὑψόκησεν 33 βαλ-  
λάντια 37 ὁ κύριος ἐλθὼν 39 ὀρυγῆναι τὴν οἰκίαν 40 οὖν  
om. 42 ὁ *pro* καὶ δοῦναι 47 αὐτοῦ *pro* ἑαυτοῦ  
ἢ *pro* μηδὲ 49 ἐπὶ *pro* εἰς 53 ἐπὶ *pro* ἐφ' 54 νεφέλην  
εἶπε τὴν λέγετε ὅτι 56 τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς 58 βάλλῃ

XIII 1 Πιλάτος hoc accentu, et sic passim 2 ὑπὲρ *pro* παρὰ  
3 πάντως *pro* πάντες 4 δεκαοκτώ 6 πεφτυεμένην  
αὐτε ἐν τῷ 7 ἔκκοψον οὖν 8 κόπρια 11 δεκαοκτώ  
18 οὖν *pro* δὲ 19 αὐτοῦ *pro* ἑαυτοῦ 20 καὶ om. 26 ἄρξῃθε  
27 αὐτε ἐργάται om. οἱ 29 αὐτε βορρᾶ om. ἀπὸ 34 ἀπο-  
κτείνουσα 35 λέγω δὲ *pro* ἀμὴν δὲ λέγω

**XIV** 1 σαββάτων *pro* σαββάτῳ 3 εἰ *om.* 7 κεκλιμένους  
 10 ἀνάπεσε 12 ἀνταπόδομά σοι 18 πάντες παραιτεῖσθαι  
 ἐξελθὼν ἰδεῖν 21 ἐκεῖνος *om.* 23 μου ὁ οἶκος 26 μου εἶναι  
 μαθητῆς 28 εἰς *pro* τὰ πρὸς 29 αὐτῷ *om.* 31 συμβαλεῖν  
*post* βασιλεῖ 32 πόρρω αὐτοῦ 33 εἶναι μου 34 δὲ καὶ

**XV** 1 αὐτῷ ἐγγίζοντες 4 ἐνενήκοντα ἐννέα ἕως οὐ  
 7 ἔσται *post* ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ 9 συγκαλεῖ 14 τοῦ ὑστερεῖσθαι  
 17 ἔφη *pro* εἶπε λιμῷ ὦδε 19 καὶ *om.* 20 οὐ μακρὰν  
 22 *ante* στολὴν *om.* τὴν 23 ἐνεγκόντες 24 ἦν 2<sup>ο</sup> *om.* 26 τοῦτο  
*pro* ταῦτα 28 ἠθέλησεν 32 καὶ 3<sup>ο</sup> *om.* ἦν 2<sup>ο</sup> *om.*

**XVI** 5 αὐτοῦ *pro* ἑαυτοῦ 6 βάδους *pro* βάτους τὰ γράμ-  
 ματα 7 τὰ γράμματα 9 ἐκλίπη 12 δώσει ὑμῖν  
 14 καὶ 1<sup>ο</sup> *om.* 15 ἐστιν *om.* 20 ἦν *om.* ὅς *om.* εἰλκω-  
 μένος 22 τοῦ *om.* 26 ἔνθεν *pro* ἐντεῦθεν 29 λέγει δὲ  
 Μωυσῆα 30 μετανοήσωσι 31 Μωυσέως ἄν *pro* ἐάν

**XVII** 1 πλὴν οὐαὶ *pro* οὐαὶ δὲ 2 ἕνα *post* τούτων 3 δὲ *om.*  
 4 ἀμαρτήσῃ τῆς ἡμέρας 2<sup>ο</sup> *om.* πρὸς σε *pro* ἐπὶ σε 6 ἔχετε  
*pro* εἴχετε 7 εὐθὺς *om.* 9 ἔχει χάριν αὐτῷ *om.* 10 ὅτι 2<sup>ο</sup> *om.*  
 20 ἐπερωτιθεῖς 24 ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ *om.* 27 ἐγαμί-  
 ζοντο καὶ οὐκ ἔγνωσαν ἕως *pro* καὶ 1<sup>ο</sup> 28 καθὼς *pro* καὶ ὡς  
 30 τὰ αὐτὰ *pro* ταῦτα 33 ὅς δ' ἂν *pro* καὶ ὅς ἐάν αὐτὴν 2<sup>ο</sup> *om.*  
 ζωοποιήσει *pro* ζωογονήσει 34 εἰς *pro* ὁ εἰς 35 ἀλιθεύσαι

**XVIII** 1 προσεύχεσθαι αὐτοὺς 4 ἤθελεν 7 αὐτῷ *pro*  
 πρὸς αὐτὸν μακροθυμεῖ 11 ταῦτα πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ὡς *pro* ὥσπερ  
 13 εἰς 2<sup>ο</sup> *om.* 14 ἡ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος καὶ ὁ *pro* ὁ δὲ 18 αὐτόν τις  
 20 σου 2<sup>ο</sup> *om.* 24 εἰσελεύσονται *post* θεοῦ 25 εἰσελ-  
 θεῖν 2<sup>ο</sup> *om.* 27 ἐστι *post* θεῷ 29 ἀδελφούς, ἡ ἀδελφάς  
 33 τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ 39 σιγήσῃ *pro* σιωπῇσῃ 42 αὐτῷ *litteris*  
*minuoribus supra lineam scriptum est*

**XIX** 1 ἄρχων τῆς συναγωγῆς ὑπῆρχεν *pro* ἦν ἀρχιελὼνης καὶ  
 οὗτος ἦν πλούσιος *om.* 4 προσδραμὼν συκομοραίαν 5 καὶ  
 ἰδὼν αὐτὸν εἶπε 8 τοῖς πτωχοῖς δίδωμι 11 εἶναι αὐτὸν  
 13 ἐν ᾧ *pro* ἕως 15 τίς *om.* διεπραγματεύσαντο 22 δὲ *om.*  
 23 μου τὸ ἀργύριον ἐπὶ τράπεζαν ἂν *om.* αὐτὸ ἔπραξα  
 34 εἶπον ὅτι 35 ἐπιρῖψαντες 42 σου 2<sup>ο</sup> *om.* 43 παρεμ-  
 βαλοῦσιν 44 λίθον ἐπὶ λίθον 46 γέγραπται ὅτι

**XX** 1 ἐκείνων *om.* 2 σοι ἔδωκεν *pro* ἐστὶν ὁ δούς σοι 6 πεπει-  
 σμένον 11 ἕτερον πέμψαι 12 τρίτον πέμψαι δοῦλον 14 δεῦτε *om.*  
 16 εἶπαν 24 εἶπαν 27 οἵτινες λέγουσι *pro* οἱ ἀντιλέγοντες  
 28 ἡ *pro* ἀποθάνῃ 33 ἔσται *pro* γίνεταί 39 εἶπαν 40 γὰρ  
*pro* δὲ 46 ἐν στολαῖς περιπατεῖν 47 οἱ κατεσθίνοντες

**XXI 1** ἶδεν τὰ δῶρα αὐτῶν *post* γαζοφυλάκιον **2** καὶ **1<sup>ο</sup>** *om.*  
 λεπτὰ δύο **3** πλείω *pro* πλείον **5** ἀναθέμασιν **6** ἄ  
*surtranscriptum* λίθον *pro* λίθῳ οὐ μὴ καταλυθῇ **8** οὖν *om.*  
**10** ἐπ' **12** πάντων *pro* ἀπάντων ἀπαγομένους **14** θέτε  
*pro* θέσθε ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις **23** τῷ λαῷ *pro* ἐν τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ  
**24** τὰ ἔθνη πάντα **25** ἤχους *pro* ἡχούσης **27** δυνάμεις  
 πολλῆς καὶ δόξης **30** ἤδη *om.* **32** πάντα ταῦτα **34** βαρη-  
 θῶσι **35** αἰφνίδιος **36** κατισχύσητε *pro* καταξιωθῆτε

**XXII 6** αὐτοῖς *post* ὄχλου **10** εἰς ἣν *pro* οὗ **12** ἀνώγαιον  
**18** γενήματος **22** πορεύεται *post* ὠρισμένον **26** γινέσθω  
**30** καθήσθε **32** ἐκλίπη **34** μὴ **1<sup>ο</sup>** *om.* **35** οὐθενός  
 βαλλάντιον **39** αὐτοῦ *om.* **42** γινέσθω **43** ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 οὐρανοῦ **44** γενάμενος καὶ ἐγένετο *pro* ἐγένετο δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς **45**  
 κοιμωμένους αὐτοὺς **47** δὲ *om.* αὐτοὺς *pro* αὐτῶν **52** ἐξήλθετε  
**53** ἐστιν ὑμῶν **54** αὐτὸν **2<sup>ο</sup>** *om.* **57** γύναι *post* αὐτόν  
**60** αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος **ὁ 2<sup>ο</sup>** *om.* **62** ὁ Πέτρος **66** αὐτῶν  
*pro* ἐαυτῶν **71** μαρτύρων *pro* μαρτυρίας

**XXIII 2** ἔθνος ἡμῶν **8** ἐξ ἱκανοῦ θέλων **11** καὶ ὁ Ἡρώδης  
**12** ὁ τε Ἡρώδης καὶ ὁ Πιλάτος **17** ἀπολύειν αὐτοῖς *post* ἑορτὴν  
**19** γεγενημένην *pro* γενομένην ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ **25** αὐτοῖς *om.*  
**26** τοῦ **1<sup>ο</sup>** *om.* **27** καὶ **2<sup>ο</sup>** *om.* **29** ἐξέθρεψαν *pro* ἐθίλασαν  
**33** ἦλθον *pro* ἀπῆλθον **33** εὐνύμων *pro* ἀριστερῶν **35** σὺν  
 αὐτοῖς *om.* **36** καὶ **2<sup>ο</sup>** *om.* **38** ἐπ' αὐτῷ γεγραμμένη **44** ἐνάτης  
**45** ἐσχίσθη *post* ναοῦ **46** παρατίθεται **47** ἐδόξαζεν  
**48** τὰ στήθη αὐτῶν **49** ἰστήκεισαν συνακολουθοῦσαι

**XXIV 4** ἄνδρες δύο αἰσθήσασιν **10** ἣν *pro* ἦσαν  
 Μαгдаλινῇ ἢ Ἰακώβου **18** ἐν **1<sup>ο</sup>** *om.* **20** τε *om.* **29** κέ-  
 κλικεν ἤδη **34** ὄντως ἀπτε ἡγέρθη **44** λόγοι μου **47** ἀρξά-  
 μενος **50** Βιθανίαν ἠελόγησεν

*Ad finem evangelii* εὐαγγέλιον κατα Λουκαν *litteris magnis*  
*scriptum.*

ST. JOHN.

Titul. Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ἰωάννην.

**I 17** Μωύσεως **19** Λευίτας πρὸς αὐτόν **20** ἐγὼ οὐκ εἰμὶ  
**21** σὺ ἀπτε Ἥλίας **24** οἱ *om.* **25** οὐδὲ *pro* οὔτε *bis* **27** οὐκ  
 εἰμὶ ἐγὼ **28** Βηθανίᾳ *pro* Βηθαβαρᾷ **29** ὁ Ἰωάννης *om.*  
**31** τῷ *om.* **35** πάλιν *om.* **37** οἱ δύο αὐτοῦ **40** ὤψεσθε  
*pro* ἴδετε ἦλθον οὖν δὲ *om.* **42** Μεσίαν **43** ἤγαγον  
 δὲ *om.* **46** Ναζαρέθ **47** Ναζαρέθ **50** εἶπεν *pro* λέγει  
**51** ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὄψη

- II 6 λίθιναι ὑδρίαι κείμεναι *post* Ἰουδαίων 9 οἱ δὲ *pro* καὶ  
 17 καταφάγεταί 19 ὁ *om.* 22 αὐτοῖς *om.*  
 III 2 αὐτὸν *pro* τὸν Ἰησοῦν δύναται *ante* ταῦτα 3 ὁ *om.*  
 4 ὁ *om.* 5 ὁ *om.* 8 ἡ *pro* καὶ 2<sup>ο</sup> 10 ὁ *om.* 14 Μωσῆς  
 16 ἔχει *pro* ἔχῃ 19 αὐτῶν πονηρά 20 *post* αὐτοῦ *add.* ὅτι  
 πονηρά εἰσιν 21 εἰσιν *pro* ἔστιν 23 Σαλεῖμ  
 IV 1 ἡ *om.* 3 πάλιν *om.* 9 οὔσης *post* Σαμαρείτιδος  
 13 Ἰησοῦς *sine* ὁ 15 ἔρχομαι 20 τῷ ὅρῳ τούτῳ *προσ-*  
*κυνεῖν* δεῖ 21 γύναι *post* μοι 25 Μεσίας ἐκείνος  
 ἔλθῃ 27 ἐθαύμαζον 30 οὖν *om.* 31 δὲ *om.* 34 ποιήσω  
*pro* ποιῶ 35 τετράμηνος 36 καὶ 1<sup>ο</sup> *om.* *ita ut* ἥδη ὁ θερίζων  
*legatur* καὶ 3<sup>ο</sup> *om.* 37 ὁ 2<sup>ο</sup> *om.* ἔστιν 2<sup>ο</sup> *om.* 44 ὁ  
 Ἰησοῦς *om.* 45 ὅσα *pro* ἃ 50 ὃν *pro* ᾧ ὁ Ἰησοῦς  
 51 ὑπῆντησαν 52 εἶπον οὖν ἐχθὲς *pro* χθὲς  
 V 1 ἡ ἑορτῇ 2 Βηρσαιά 4 ἐλούετο *pro* κατέβαινε  
 5 ἐκεῖ ἄνθρωπος ἀσθενεῖα αὐτοῦ 7 βάλη 8 ἔγειρε  
*m. prim. sed nunc* ἔγειραι *κράβαττόν et sic passim* 10 καὶ  
 οὐκ *κράβαττόν σου* 14 σοί τι 25 ἀκούσωσι  
 27 καὶ 2<sup>ο</sup> *om.* 38 ἐν ὑμῖν μένοντα 44 ἀλλήλων *in rasura*  
*scriptum est et quamvis litteras erasas legere non possim* ἄνω  
*scriptum esse a spatio arbitror* 45 Μωσῆς 46 Μωσεί  
 VI 2 ἐθεώρουν αὐτοῦ *om.* 5 τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὁ Ἰησοῦς  
 ἀγοράσωμεν 6 ἡμελλε 9 ἐν *om.* ὃς *pro* ὁ 10 ἀνέπεσαν  
 ἄνδρες *sine* οἱ ὡς *pro* ὡσεὶ 11 ὄχλοις *pro* ἀνακειμένους  
 15 πάλιν *om.* 17 Καφαρναούμ οὕτω πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐληλύθει ὁ  
 Ἰησοῦς 21 αὐτὸν λαβεῖν ἐγένετο τὸ πλοῖον 22 ἐκείνο  
 εἰς ὃ ἐνέβησαν οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ *om.* πλοῖον *pro* πλοιάριον 2<sup>ο</sup>  
 23 πλοῖα ἦλθεν *pro* ἦλθε πλοιάρια 24 ἶδεν καὶ 1<sup>ο</sup> *om.*  
 πλοιάρια Καφαρναοῦμ 26 ἴδετε 29 πιστεύετε 35 οὖν  
*pro* δὲ 39 πατὴρ *om.* ἐν *om.* 40 πέμψαντός με πατὴρ  
 ἐγὼ αὐτὸν 41 ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβάς 42 οὗτος λέγει  
 44 ἀγὼ 45 Θεοῦ *sine* τοῦ 46 ἑώρακέν τις 50 ἀπόλθαι  
 51 ζήσει ἣν ἐγὼ δώσω *om.* 54 ἀναστήσω ἐγὼ 55 ἀληθῆς  
 δις 57 ζήσει 58 ζήσει 60 ὁ λόγος οὗτος 63 λελά-  
 ληκα 66 τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ ἀπῆλθον 68 οὖν *om.*  
 71 Ἰσκαριώτου παραδιδόναι αὐτὸν  
 VII 1 μετὰ ταῦτα *om.* 4 ποιεῖ τι 6 ἔτοιμός ἐστι  
 8 ταύτην *om.* ὁ ἐμός καιρὸς 12 ἣν περὶ αὐτοῦ 19 Μωσῆς  
 22 Μωσῆς Μωσέως 23 Μωσέως 24 κρίνετε  
 26 ἀληθῶς *om.* 28 ὁ Ἰησοῦς *ante* ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ 29 δὲ *om.*  
 31 ποιήσει τούτων 32 οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι 33 αὐτοῖς

om. 35 ποῦ οὖν 39 Ἅγιον om. 40 ἀκούσαντες τῶν  
λόγων τούτων 42 οὐχ προ οὐχὶ ἔρχεται ὁ Χριστός  
43 ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ 46 ἐλάλησεν οὕτως 50 πρὸς  
αὐτὸν νυκτός 51 πρῶτον 52 ἐκ τῆς Γαλιλαίας προφήτης  
οὐκ ἐγείρεται 53 *usque ad VIII 11* ἀμάρτανε om.

VIII 12 ἐλάλησεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς 14 ἡ ποῦ ὑπάγω *ad fin.*  
*vers.* 19 ἂν ἤδειτε 20 ὁ Ἰησοῦς om. γαζοφυλακείῳ  
26 λαλῶ προ λέγω 28 ὑψώσῃται μου om. 29 ὁ πατήρ  
om. 44 τοῦ πατρὸς καθὼς καὶ ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ 46 ἐλέγξει  
δὲ om. 51 τὸν ἐμὸν λόγον 52 γεύσῃται 53 σὺ 2<sup>ο</sup> om.  
59 καὶ διελθὼν ἐπορεύετο καὶ παρήγεν οὕτως

IX 3 Ἰησοῦς εἶπε ὁ 8 προσαίτης προ τυφλὸς 10 πῶς  
οὖν ἠνεώχθησαν 11 οὖν προ δὲ 16 οὐκ ἔστιν οὗτος παρὰ  
Θεοῦ ὁ ἄνθρωπος 17 λέγουσιν οὖν ἀνέωξε 20 οἶδαμεν  
*bis scriptum sed loco priore punctis damnatum* - 21 αὐτὸν ἐρωτή-  
σατε, ἡλικίαν ἔχει αὐτὸς περὶ ἑαυτοῦ λαλῆσαι 26 οὖν προ δὲ  
27 μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ 28 οἱ δὲ ἐλοιδόρησαν μαθητῆς εἰ  
29 Μωσεῖ 30 τούτῳ γὰρ τὸ θαυμαστόν 31 ὁ Θεὸς  
ἀμαρτωλῶν 36 καὶ τίς 37 δὲ om. 40 μετ' αὐτοῦ  
ὄντες 41 οὖν om.

X 3 φωνεῖ προ καλεῖ 4 πάντα προ πρόβατα 1<sup>ο</sup> 7 ὅτι  
om. 8 ἦλθον πρὸ ἐμοῦ 10 περισσύτερον προ περισσὸν  
12 ὁ δὲ μισθωτὸς 16 ἀκούουσι προ ἀκούσουσι γενήσονται  
17 με ὁ πατήρ 18 οὐδεὶς γὰρ 22 τότε προ δὲ 26 ὅτι  
οὐκ προ οὐ γὰρ 29 ὁ δέδωκέ μοι πάντων μεῖζων 32 ἔργα  
καλὰ ἐμὲ λιθάζετε 34 ὅτι ἐγὼ 39 αὐτὸν πάλιν  
41 ἐποίησε σημεῖον 42 πολλοὶ ἐπίστευσαν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ

XI 9 ὥραί εἰσιν 11 ἐξυπνήσω 17 ἐν τῷ μνημείῳ ἔχοντα  
20 Ἰησοῦς εἶπε ὁ 24 ἡ Μάρθα 32 Ἰησοῦς εἶπε ὁ  
αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς πόδας μου ἀπέθανεν 38 αὐτὸ προ  
αὐτῷ 39 τετελευτηκότος 44 κηρίαις 47 ποιεῖ σημεῖα  
52 ἔθνους δὲ μόνον 54 αὐτοῦ om. 57 καὶ om.

XII 2 ἀνακειμένων σὺν αὐτῷ 4 Ἰσκαριώτου 6 ἔμελλεν  
προ ἔμελεν 7 ἄφετε αὐτήν ἵνα τηρήσῃ 12 Ἰησοῦς  
εἶπε ὁ 16 πρότερον προ πρῶτον 18 ἤκουσαν 25 ἀπολύει  
προ ἀπολέσει 26 τις διακονῇ καὶ υἱ. om. 29 ἐστῇκως  
προ ἐστὼς 30 ἡ φωνὴ αὐτῇ 34 οὗτος om. 35 ἐν  
ὑμῖν προ μεθ' ὑμῶν ὥς προ ἔως 36 ὥς προ ἔως  
40 ἐπώρωσεν στραφῶσι καὶ ἰάσομαι 41 ὅτι ἶδεν 43 εἵπερ  
προ ἤπερ 49 δέδωκεν 50 οὕτως

XIII 2 γινομένου καρδίαν ἵνα παραδῶ αὐτὸν, Ἰούδας Σίμωνος

Ἰσκαριώτου 8 μου τοὺς πόδας 10 οὐκ ἔχει χρεῖαν εἰ  
 μὴ *προ ἦ* 12 καὶ *ομ.* 20 ἂν *προ* ἐάν 23 δὲ *ομ.*  
 ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν 24 τίς ἂν εἶη *ομ.* τίνος *προ* οὐ 25 ἀνα-  
 πεσῶν 26 Ἰσκαριώτου 27 εἰς *ομ.* τάχειον 28 δὲ  
*ομ.* 30 ἐξῆλθεν εὐθέως 36 ἐγὼ ὑπάγω 37 Πέτρος  
*σine* ὁ

XIV 3 τόπον ὑμῖν εἶτε *προ ἦτε* 7 πατέρα μου ἂν ἦδειτε  
 10 ἐν ἐμοὶ *sine* ὁ 13 αἰτήσεται 14 τοῦτο *προ* ἐγὼ  
 16 καγὼ 21 τοῦ πατρός μου *προ* μου 23 Ἰησοῦς *sine* ὁ  
 28 εἶπον 2<sup>ο</sup> *ομ.* μου 1<sup>ο</sup> *ομ.* 31 οὕτως

XV 2 καρπὸν πλείονα 6 τὸ πῦρ 9 ὑμᾶς ἠγάπησα  
 11 ἦ *προ* μείνη 16 αἰτήτε 24 ἐποίησεν 25 ἐν τῷ νόμῳ  
 αὐτῶν γεγραμμένος

XVI 3 οἶδαςι *προ* ἔγνωσαν 7 οὐ μὴ ἔλθῃ *προ* οὐκ ἐλεύσεται  
 10 ὑπάγω πρὸς τὸν πατέρα μου *ομ.* 12 ὑμῖν λέγειν  
 13 ἀκούσει *προ* ἂν ἀκούσῃ 15 λαμβάνει *προ* λήψεται 16 οὐκ ἐτι  
*προ* οὐ καὶ ὅτι ὑπάγω 17 ἐγὼ *ομ.* 18 τί ἐστι τοῦτο  
 τὸ *ομ.* 22 νῦν μὲν λύπην ἔχετε 23 ἐάν τι *προ* ὅσα ἂν  
 29 αὐτῷ *ομ.* 32 κάμῃ 33 ἔχετε *προ* ἔχετε

XVII 2 δώσει 7 ἔγνωσαν *προ* ἔγνωσαν εἰσιν *προ* ἐστιν  
 11 οὐκ ἐτι καγὼ ᾧ *προ* οὓς ἡμεῖς ἐν ἐσμέν 13 ἐαυτοῖς  
 19 ὥσιν καὶ αὐτοὶ 20 πιστευόντων 22 καγὼ 24 δέδωκάς  
*προ* ἔδωκάς

XVIII 4 ἰδὼν *προ* εἰδὼς 6 ὅτι *ομ.* 7 ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτοὺς  
 15 ἄλλος *sine* ὁ 16 ἐκεῖνος *προ* ὁ ἄλλος 20 λελάληκα  
 τῇ *ομ.* 22 παρεστῶτων ὑπηρετῶν παρεστηκώς *ομ.*  
 24 ἀπέστειλεν οὖν 26 ὁ συγγενὴς *προ* συγγενὴς ὢν 28 πρῶτῃ  
*προ* πρῶτῃ 29 φησι *προ* εἶπε 30 κακοποιῶν 33 ὁ  
 Πιλάτος (*hoc accenti passim*) πάλιν 34 ἀπεκρίνατο *προ*  
 ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῷ ἀπὸ σεαυτοῦ 36 Ἰησοῦς *sine* ὁ ὑπηρεταί  
 οἱ ἐμοὶ ἠγωνίζοντο ἂν 37 Ἰησοῦς *sine* ὁ ἐγὼ 1<sup>ο</sup> *ομ.* 39 ὑμῖν 2<sup>ο</sup>  
*ομ.* ἀπολύσω ὑμῖν 40 πάλιν *ομ.*

XIX 1 ὁ Πιλάτος ἔλαβε 3 ἐδίδοσαν 4 οὐδεμίαν  
 αἰτίαν ἐν αὐτῷ 5 ἰδοὺ *προ* ἶδε 6 ἰδὼν ὑμεῖς αὐτὸν  
 7 ἡμῶν *ομ.* υἱὸν Θεοῦ ἐαυτὸν 9 Ἰησοῦς *ομ.* 10 ἐξουσίαν  
 2<sup>ο</sup> *ομ.* *sed add. m. s. in margine* 11 αὐτῷ *προ* ὁ κατ' ἐμοῦ  
 οὐδεμίαν 12 ὁ Πιλάτος ἐζήτει ἐκραύγασαν ἐαυτὸν ποιῶν  
 14 ὥρα ἦν ὡς τρίτη 17 οὖν *προ* δὲ Ἑβραϊστὶ δὲ *προ* ὅς  
 λέγεται Ἑβραϊστὶ 20 ὁ τόπος τῆς πόλεως Ῥωμαϊστὶ,  
 Ἑλληνιστί 21 τῶν Ἰουδαίων εἰμι 23 ἄραφος 25 Μαριάμ  
 ἡ τοῦ Κλοπᾶ Μαριάμ 26 αὐτοῦ *ομ.* 27 ἶδε

ὁ μαθητὴς αὐτὴν 28 ἤδη πάντα 29 οὖν *om.* σπόγγον  
οὖν μεστὸν τοῦ ὄξους ὑσσώπῳ 31 ἐπεὶ παρασκευὴ ἦν αὐτῇ ἵνα  
τοῦ σαββάτου ἐκείνου 33 ἴδον 34 ἐξῆλθεν εὐθύς  
36 πιστεύητε δὲ *pro* γὰρ 38 ὁ 1<sup>ο</sup> *et* 2<sup>ο</sup> *om.* αὐτοῦ *pro*  
τοῦ Ἰησοῦ 39 αὐτὸν *pro* τὸν Ἰησοῦν 42 αὐτόν *pro* τὸν  
Ἰησοῦν

XX 3 καὶ ὁ Πέτρος 4 τάχειον 5 τὰ ὀθόνια κείμενα  
μέντοιγε 11 Μαριὰμ 15 ἔθικας αὐτόν 16 Ῥαβουνί  
*ad finem versus add.* καὶ προσέδραμεν ἄψασθαι αὐτοῦ  
17 Ἰησοῦς *sine* ὁ 21 καὶ εἶπεν *pro* εἶπεν οὖν ὁ Ἰησοῦς *om.*  
23 ἀφέντωνται 25 αὐτοῖς *om.* 28 καὶ 1<sup>ο</sup> *om.* 29 Θωμᾶ *om.*

XXI 1 ὁ Ἰησοῦς πάλιν 3 ἐνέβησαν εὐθύς *om.* 4 ἐγνωσαν  
*pro* ἥδειςαν 5 ἔχγητε 6 *post* εὐρήσετε *add.* οἱ δὲ εἶπον δι'  
ὅλης νυκτὸς κοπιάσαντες οὐδὲν ἐλάβομεν ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ σῷ ῥήματι βαλοῦμεν  
ἴσχυον *pro* ἴσχυσαν 11 ἐνέβη οὖν *pro* ἀνέβη μεγάλων  
ἰχθύων 13 οὖν *om.* 17 καὶ λέγει Κύριε 18 ζώση  
οἴσῃ 25 ἃ *pro* ὅσα *ad finem evangelii* Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ  
Ἰωάννην *et statim postea*

εὐαγγελιστῶν τεσσάρων θείοι λόγοι

γραφέντες ὧδε λήξιν ἔσχον τῶν πόνων

*litteris magnis scripta sunt*

# COLOSSIANS.

I 2 καὶ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ *om.* 6 *post* καρποφ. *add.* καὶ  
αὐξανόμενον 10 ἐν τῇ ἐπιγνώσει 14 διὰ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ *om.*  
16 ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς *sine* τὰ 20 δι' αὐτοῦ *om.* ἔσται τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς  
γῆς 22 παραστήσῃ 24 παθήμασι *sine* μου Χριστοῦ  
ἐν τῷ σώματί μου ὅς ἐστι 27 γνῶναι *pro* γνωρίσαι

II 1 ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν 2 τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ  
3 γνώσεως *sine* τῆς 7 ἐν πίστει ἐν αὐτῇ 12 ἐκ νεκρῶν  
13 ὄντας τοῖς 20 εἰ *sine* οὖν σὺν Χριστῷ 23 ἐθελοθρησκία

III 4 τότε καὶ ὑμεῖς φανερωθήσεσθε ἐν δόξῃ σὺν αὐτῷ 5 τὰ  
μέλη *sine* ὑμῶν 7 ἐν τούτοις 12 οἰκτιρμοῦ 15 ἐκλήθητε  
ἐν σώματι ἐνί 16 ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν τῷ Θεῷ 18 ἰδίοις  
*om.* 20 ἐν κυρίῳ 22 ὀφθαλμοδουλίαις φοβούμενοι τὸν  
Κύριον 23 καὶ 1<sup>ο</sup> *om.* ἂν *pro* ἔαν 25 κομίσηται

IV 3 διὸ καὶ 6 ἀποκρίνασθαι 9 γνωρίσουσι



## IV. CODEX EVANG. 1071.

OF all the minuscule MSS. which we saw in the libraries of the monasteries on Mount Athos the one now numbered 104 A in the Laura catalogue was far the best, indeed it was the only one which presented any great features of interest. It was not difficult to identify it as the MS. which Dr. Gregory has numbered 1071 in his catalogue in the Prolegomena to Tischendorf's ed. maj. viii.

Dr. Gregory's description is as follows:—

'1071 in Ath. Laurae; saec xii, 28.3 × 19.5 membr, coll. 2, ll 26. 27, Carp. Eus.-t, capp-t, capp, titl, sect, (Mc 234: 16, 9) can, syn, men, subscr ut Λ, στιχ; *Ενν*; Lc 22, 43. 44 deerat, m. ser. add. in mg.: Joh. 8, 6 κάτω κεκυφώς τῷ δακτύλῳ κατέγραφεν: 8, 9 ἕκαστος δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐξήρχετο ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ὥστε πάντας ἐξελεῖν et multa alia. In Calabria nisi fallor exaratus, manibus duabus, partim litteris Neritinis. Vidi 27 Aug. 1886.'

There is only a little to be added in the way of technical description, but the following points may be noted.

(1) According to our notes the summary account should also contain *lect. pict.* I much regret, in the light of subsequent investigation, that we did not look more carefully into the nature of the lections. Probably they are the ordinary ones, but I cannot speak with certainty, and considering that a connexion perhaps exists between this MS. and Codex Bezae, it would be worth while for the next scholar who goes to the Laura to look into the question more carefully. I should be inclined to guess that, as Dr. Gregory did not notice the presence of any lection marks, they are not a complete system, but only a few which caught our eye, or rather, as

I judge from the handwriting of the note on this point, Mr. Wathen's eye.

The pictures are not illuminated, and are unlike those in any MS. which I saw on Mount Athos, but I have since seen in the Bodleian a MS. (MS. Douce 70), the pictures of which remind me of those in cod. 1071. Probably the explanation that they were prepared for illumination, but never finished, is as true for 1071 as it certainly is for Douce 70. In the picture before the fourth Gospel it is important to note that the Latin words *In principio erat verbum* appear on the page of the open book which St. John is represented as holding.

(2) I feel sure that it was written by three rather than by two hands, whose work was distributed as follows:—

Scribe A wrote quaternions 1, 7 and 8 containing the introductory matter (Carp. Eus.-t. Capp-t and, I think, syn. men.), and Mt 22, 13—end of Capp-t. to Mark.

Scribe B wrote quaternions 2 and 9-23, containing Mt 1, 1-7, 26 *ἡκοδόμησεν* and Mc 1, 1 to the end of the Gospels.

Scribe C wrote quaternions 3-6, containing Mt 7, 26—Mt 22, 13 *δῆσαν*.

It is noticeable that in the seventeenth quaternion scribe B has inserted two conjugate leaves between the seventh and eighth folia of the gathering. If there is no other irregularity in the make-up of the MS. this gives a total of 186 folia, but our notes say that the MS. contained 181 folia. As this discrepancy did not strike us until we had left the mountain, it is impossible to do more than record the fact without offering any explanation.

(3) *Litterae Neritinae* means the writing of the school of Nardo, or Neritum, near Rossano, the existence of which is recorded by De Ferrariis in his tract *De Situ Iapygiae*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> In hac urbe de qua nunc loquimur et gymnasium quondam fuit Graecarum disciplinarum tale, ut cum Mesapii Graeci laudare Graecas litteras volunt Neritinas esse dicant. Sunt enim hae litterae perpulchrae et castigatae et iis, quibus nunc utuntur impressores, Orientalibus ad legendum aptiores.—Antonius Galateus (De Ferrariis), *De Situ Iapygiae*, ed. 1558, p. 122.

I think that Dr. Gregory here alludes to the writing of the scribe B, but I do not feel sure, as I only know *Litterae Neritinae* through description. However, I do not feel the least hesitation in affirming a complete agreement with Dr. Gregory in his belief that the MS. came from Italy. The Latin words in the picture of St. John are evidence that it came from a district where Latin was more or less known, and the handwriting has a peculiar stiffness<sup>1</sup>, very difficult to describe, but easy to recognize, which is often characteristic of Italian MSS. I much regret that, for some reason which we could not understand, we were not allowed to photograph even a specimen of this MS.

*The Provenience and History of the Codex.*

It will be seen from the foregoing remarks that the codex came from S. Italy or Sicily—there is little difference between the two regions, palaeographically considered. It remains to be seen whether the exact home of the MS. can be found, and the explanation of its being taken to Mount Athos be discovered. Father Chrysostom, when the problem was put to him, affirmed that the answer was easy and certain. There had been, he said, in the twelfth century, a movement of *rapprochement* between S. Italy and Constantinople, which had resulted in the foundation of a monastery on Mount Athos, endowed by the Greek merchants connected with Amalfi, and therefore called 'Αμαλφινῶν. This monastery was afterwards known, doubtless when the connexion with Italy had been broken, as τὸ Μορφινόν—an obvious corruption of the earlier title. After a period of prosperity it fell into ruins, and its library and lands were taken over by the Laura. The ruined tower on the top of a precipitous and thickly-wooded hill may be seen on the right hand of the path as one approaches the Laura from Ivéron.

<sup>1</sup> See Batiffol's essay in *L'Abbaye de Rossano*.

The only reference to this monastery which I have been able to find in books about Mount Athos is in De Vogüé's *Syrie, Palestine et Mont Athos*, a little book which gives a charming and most lifelike description of the 'Holy Mountain.' He says on p. 263: 'En même temps (the closing years of the twelfth century) à l'instigation d'Innocent III une tentative est faite pour latiniser le principal centre monastique de l'orthodoxie. Les Amalfitains ces infatigables pionniers qu'on retrouve à l'avant-garde de toutes les entreprises occidentales en Orient fondent le couvent catholique d'Omorphonô dont les ruines abritent aujourd'hui des chevriers sous un toit de lierre dans un des sites les plus pittoresques de la presqu'île.' Unfortunately he gives no authority for this statement, and I have not been able as yet to find any. The ancient 'Chronicon Amalfitanum' published by Muratori is mutilated at this point, but one of the few fragments relating to this period recounts a mission to Constantinople, and the obtaining of the body of St. Andrew from that city. This at least shows the Amalfitans in the neighbourhood of Athos, and dealing in monastic 'properties.' It should also be noticed that the period in question is that of the Montferrats and the Roman kingdom of Thessalonica, when a Latinising movement is quite probable. Therefore there can be little doubt that Father Chrysostom's suggestion is a very reasonable one, but caution demands a statement of countervailing considerations.

If Dr. Gregory is right in identifying part of cod. 1071 as written in the hand characteristic of the school of Nardo, it weakens the case for Amalfi, because Nardo is close to Rossano, not to Amalfi, and there is some, though not very good evidence, that there was in the twelfth century a monastery on Mount Athos definitely connected with Calabria. This evidence is found in the life of St. Bartholomew<sup>1</sup> of Simeri, near Rossano. St. Bartholomew was a person who in early life became a kind of hermit in the mountains near Rossano,

<sup>1</sup> Printed in the *Bollandist Acta SS. Sept.* vol. viii.

and afterwards founded several monasteries in the district, including St. Mary's of Patira. He is said to have made a journey to Constantinople, and to have been very well received by the Court, especially by a pious noble named Calimeris, who gave him many valuable presents, and—the chronicler continues—ὅπερ εἰς τὸ Ἅγιον ὄρος ἐκέκτητο μοναστήριον ἐπ' ὀνόματι τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατέρος ἡμῶν καὶ οὐρανοφάντορος Βασιλείου αὐτῷ ἐδωρήσατο, εὐεργετῆσθαι μᾶλλον ἐκ τούτου ἢ εὐεργετεῖν μάλα εἰκότως οἰόμενος, οὐδὲρ τὴν προστασίαν ταῖς πολλαῖς ἐκείνου δυσωπηθεῖς ἱκετείαις ὁ μέγας ἀναδεξάμενος πολλῆς ὠφελείας τοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ ἀσκηταῖς ἐγένετο πρόξενος λόγους ὁμοῦ καὶ ἔργοις ῥυθμίσας αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸ μέλπιον (l. βέλτιον)—then some details recounting Bartholomew's departure and his appointment of a successor—διὸ καὶ μέχρι τῆς σήμερον ὡς φασὶ τὸ μοναστήριον 'τοῦ Καλαβροῦ' παρὰ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις ἐπονομάζεται.

Again, there does not seem to be any entirely trustworthy evidence as to the existence of this monastery. It is not mentioned (nor is τὸ Μορφινόν) by John Comnenus<sup>1</sup> in his description of Mount Athos, but this does not prove more than that it did not exist in the seventeenth century when John Comnenus wrote. The whole question of these two monasteries ought to be inquired into by the next scholar who visits the mountain.

At present one can only say that cod. 1071 was probably once in the library of either τὸ Μορφινόν or the monastery of τοῦ Καλαβροῦ, whither it was imported either from Amalfi or from the neighbourhood of Rossano. The importance of this fact will probably be considered to lie in the light it may possibly throw on the locality in which the Codex Bezae was preserved in the twelfth century, for, as will be shown later, there is in the text of the *pericope adulterae* in cod. 1071 a point of close connexion with the Codex Bezae.

<sup>1</sup> Printed in Montfaucon's *Palaeographia Graeca*.

*Evidence other than textual which connects Cod. 1071 with other MSS.*

This is given by the stichometric enumerations and subscriptions which are found at the end of the Gospels. They are as follows:—

At the end of St. Matthew: *Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ματθαῖον ἐγγράφη καὶ ἀντεβλήθη ἐκ τῶν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις παλαιῶν ἀντιγραφῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀγίῳ Ὁρει ἀποκειμένων. στχ. βφ (2500).*

At the end of St. Mark: *Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Μάρκον ἐγγράφη καὶ ἀντεβλήθη ὁμοίως ἐκ τῶν ἐσπουδασμένων. στχ. αφζ (1590).*

They are omitted at the end of the two other Gospels. This indication of provenience, whatever it may mean, groups cod. 1071 with the following MSS. at least, and probably with others.

Λ<sup>1</sup> (ix) in the Bodleian: brought from 'the East' by Tischendorf in 1853. Probably therefore originally part of the library of St. Catherine's monastery on Mount Sinai.

20 (xi) at Paris: brought from the East in 1669.

117 (xv) in the British Museum: apparently nothing is known of its history except that it once belonged to Bentley.

157 (xii) in the Vatican Library: written, perhaps in 1128, for the Emperor John II Porphyrogenitus, presumably therefore in Constantinople.

164 (xi) in the Barberini Library: a palimpsest. Written by Leo, priest and scribe, and purchased in 1168 at Jerusalem by a certain Bartholomew. Probably therefore written in some Eastern monastery.

262 (x ? xii) at Paris: probably written in Italy, but afterwards sent to Constantinople, and brought back in 1735.

428 (xiii) at Munich: history apparently unknown.

565 (ix) at St. Petersburg: said to have been written by

<sup>1</sup> Λ of course has not got the subscription to Matthew, and in the other MSS. quoted sometimes one of the Gospels lacks the subscription.

the Empress Theodora; afterwards in the monastery of Houth Khan in Pontus.

566 (ix) at St. Petersburg: the other half of cod. A, which Tischendorf seems to have separated as he did in other cases.

829 (xii ? xi) at Grotta Ferrata: almost certainly written in S. Italy or Sicily. Dr. Gregory's question whether it may not be 'consanguineus familiae 13,' i.e. a member of the Ferrar group, may be definitely answered in the negative.

The scanty information which may thus be gathered from catalogues about these MSS. suggests that the group to which they belong may be divided into two—an Eastern and an Italian branch. To the former belong A, 20, 157, 164, 565, 566 (which may perhaps be subdivided into Constantinopolitan and Sinaitic branches); to the latter belong 262, 829, 1071.

The question remains to be decided, what is the original home of the family. I think that Sinai is the most likely place. This conclusion is reached from a consideration of the subscription. This it will be remembered runs as follows:—

Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ματθαῖον ἐγράφη καὶ ἀντεβλήθη ἐκ τῶν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις παλαιῶν ἀντιγραφῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀγίῳ Ὄρει ἀποκειμένων.

At first this appears to identify<sup>1</sup> Jerusalem and the Ἱερόν Ὄρος. But there seems no reason for thinking that any monastery at Jerusalem was ever called a holy mountain. Τὸ Ἱερόν Ὄρος, according to Father Chrysostom, for whose great learning and instinct on such points I learnt while at the Laura to have the greatest respect, felt confident that it meant neither Jerusalem nor (considering the early date of A 566, 565) Athos, but definitely Sinai. He boldly emended ἐκ τῶν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις into ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμειτῶν, adding (what is perfectly true) that the terminations of words in colophons are often so abbreviated that they may mean almost anything.

<sup>1</sup> This seems to be Bousset's view in his *Text-kritische Studien*.

I think therefore that probably Sinai is the original home, and that the subscription means that the archetype of the group came originally from Jerusalem, and was, at the time when it was used, preserved in the library at Sinai.

*The Text of this Family.*

At present it is impossible to say whether any members of the family have preserved the original text. The majority have undoubtedly reverted to the ordinary Antiochian type, but 157, 565, 1071 (especially 565), have texts of some value, and A 566, 262, 829 have a certain number of interesting readings. To work the subject out fully would be a long and delicate piece of work, but the impression which I have at present is that no close genealogical connexion can be shown to exist between any of the MSS. in this group at all similar to that found in the Ferrar group or the group which is headed by cod. 1. It is possible that further study may reveal a more remote connexion, and may even connect them with other well-known MSS. which do not possess this interesting colophon, which would then acquire a further importance.

An attempt has been made by Dr. W. Bousset, in his *Text-kritische Studien*, to deal with the subject somewhat on these lines. He considers that all these MSS. belong to a large group headed by the uncials KΠ(M) which he thinks may be connected more or less closely with Jerusalem, and have affinities with the text of Origen. There is no question that KΠ(M) possess a peculiar text which may represent some definite recension, but it may be doubted whether MSS. like 157, 565, 1071 can be rightly claimed as belonging to this group. They have some points in common with it, but they have many more in which they disagree, not only with it, but also among themselves. The whole problem raised is full of difficulties, and at present no adequate solution has been offered. If however any advance is possible, it is probable that it will be made by dealing with the smaller and definite families first, and afterwards bringing them together into larger groups.



## The Text of Cod. 1071.

The collation with Lloyd's text of the whole of St. Mark, and of several chapters from the other Gospels, which is given in the following pages, will probably be sufficient to give a fair impression of the character and value of the codex. It must however be understood that this is not based on photographs, but only on a necessarily hurried collation, which was made at the Laura by Mr. Wathen and myself, and naturally must have suffered from the haste with which it was made. We did not collect orthographical variants simply as such: the spelling of cod. 1071 is very bad, offering in this respect a great contrast to the mass of the MSS. in the libraries on Mount Athos. I have not attempted any full analysis of the different readings, but at the conclusion of the collation I have drawn attention to some of the more interesting variants, and especially to the text of the *pericope adulterae*.

## ST. MATTHEW.

**V** 1 *post* ἀνέβη *add.* ὁ Ἰησοῦς 13 βληθὲν ἔξω καταπατεῖσθαι  
 18 ἰῶτα ἐν τῇ κεραίᾳ *post* νόμου *add.* καὶ τῶν προφητῶν  
 19 ἐντολῶν μου τούτων 20 ὑμῶν ἡ δικαιοσύνη 22 εἶπη  
 τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ μωρέ 25 μετ' αὐτοῦ *ante* εἰ 28 ἐπιθυ-  
 μίσαι αὐτήν 29 σκανδαλίζει σε *ante* ὁ δεξιός 32 μοιχευ-  
 θῆναι *pro* μοιχᾶσθαι 36 ποιῆσαι *ante* λευκὴν 39 δεξιὰν  
 εἶπε σου 40 *post* ἱματίων *add.* σου 42 δός *pro* δίδου  
 44 *om.* καλῶς ποιεῖτε τοὺς μισούντας ὑμᾶς 47 φίλους *pro*  
 ἀδελφούς οἱ ἐθνικοὶ *pro* τελῶναι 48 ὡς *pro* ὥσπερ  
 ὁ οὐράνιος *pro* ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς

**VI** 1 προσέχετε δὲ 3 γινῶ *pro* γνώτω 4 ὅπως ἡ σου  
 ἐλεημοσύνη ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ αὐτὸς ἀποδώσει *omissis verbis omniūbus*  
*quae inter* ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ 1<sup>o</sup> *et* ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ 2<sup>o</sup> *interponenda sint*  
 5 προσεύχεσθε εἰ ἔσεσθε *pro* προσεύχη κ.τ.λ. 14 ὑμεῖς *pro*  
 ὑμῖν 20 οὐδὲ βρώσις οὔτε κλέπτουσιν 23 ὀφθαλμοὺς  
 εἶπε σου 24 *post* οὐδεὶς *add.* οἰκῆτης 26 οὔτε . . . οὔτε . . .  
 οὔτε 28 οὐ κοπιῶσιν οὐδὲ νήθουσιν 32 ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα  
 τὰ ἔθνη ἐπιζητοῦσιν

**XXI** 3 ἀποστέλλει 8 αὐτῶν *pro* ἑαυτῶν 13 ποιή-  
 σατε αὐτὸν 14 χωλοὶ καὶ τυφλοὶ 18 *post* ἐπανάγων

add. ὁ Ἰησοῦς 22 αἰτεῖσθε *pro* αἰτήσητε 24 *post* αὐτοῖς  
add. ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν 26 *post* διατί *om.* οὖν *post* ἐὰν *om.*  
δὲ 28 *post* ἀνθρώπος add. τις σήμερον *post* ἐργάζου  
30 ἐτέρῳ *pro* δευτέρῳ 38 *post* υἱὸν add. αὐτὸν  
XXIII 5 γὰρ *pro* δὲ 10 ὑμῶν *post* ἐστιν 19 *post*  
μερίζον (?) add. ἐστι 20 καὶ ἐν τῷ καθημένῳ ἐν πᾶσι 21 κατοικί-  
κῆσαντι

ST. MARK.

I 2 καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν Ἡσαΐα τῷ προφῆτι 5 *post* Ἱερο-  
σολυμίται add. πάντες 7 κύψας *om.* 9 ἐκείναις *post* ἡμέραις  
10 ὡς *pro* ὥσεί 15 *ante* λέγων *om.* καὶ 16 αὐτοῦ τοῦ Σίμωνος  
17 γενέσθαι *om.* 19 *post* δίκτυα add. αὐτῶν 21 εὐθὺς *pro*  
εὐθέως 23 *ante* λέγων add. φωνῇ μεγάλῃ 25 αὐτῶν *pro* αὐτοῦ  
26 φωνήσας *pro* κράξαν 27 ἅπαντες πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς λέγοντας  
τί ἐστι τοῦτο εἰ τίς ἢ κ.τ.λ. 33 καὶ ἦν ὅλη ἡ πόλις  
35 ἀναστὰς ἀπῆλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς 36 ὁ τε Σίμων 37 σε *ante*  
ζητοῦσιν 42 ἡ λέπρα αὐτοῦ 45 δύνασθαι *ante* αὐτὸν  
φανερῶς *post* εἰς πόλιν πάντοθεν

II 1 εἰσῆλθεν πάλιν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐν οἴκῳ *pro* εἰς οἶκον  
3 φέροντες *ante* πρὸς αὐτὸν 5 σου αἱ ἁμαρτίαι σου *ut vid. sed*  
*coll. est amphibolia* 8 αὐτοὶ διαλογίζονται 9 σου *post* κράβ-  
βατόν 10 ἀφίεναι *post* ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς 11 ἔγειρε ἄρον *sine*  
καὶ 12 ἐνώπιον *pro* ἐναντίον 13 *post* πάλιν add. ὁ Ἰησοῦς  
ἤρχοντο *pro* ἤρχετο 16 *post* πίνει add. ὁ διδάσκαλος 17 *ante*  
οὐ χρεῖαν add. ὅτι οὐ γὰρ ἦλθον 18 οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν φαρ.  
οἱ μαθηταὶ τῶν φαρ. μαθηταὶ σου *pro* σοὶ μαθηταὶ 21 οὐδεὶς  
*sine* καὶ 23 *ante* τοῖς σάββ. *om.* ἐν οἱ μαθ. αὐτοῦ *et* ἤρξαντο  
24 *post* ποιοῦσιν add. οἱ μαθηταὶ 25 λέγει *pro* ἔλεγεν  
26 ἱερεῦσι μόνον

III 6 ἐποίησαν 7 *post* Ἰησοῦς add. γνοὺς παρὰ τὴν  
θάλασσαν ἠκολούθησαν *post* Ἰουδαίας 8 ἐποίει ὁ Ἰησοῦς  
11 ἐθεώρουν προσέπιπτον ἔκραζον 12 αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς  
13 εἰς τὸ ὄρος ὁ Ἰησοῦς 16 καὶ ἐπέθηκεν αὐτοῖς ὀνόματα, τῷ  
Σίμωνι Πέτρον 17 Ἰακώβου *sine* τοῦ 18 Ματθαίου τὸν  
τελώνην 20 μηδὲ *pro* μήτε 23 αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς 25 δυνή-  
σεται *pro* δύναται σταθῆναι *post* ἐκείνη 27 ἀλλ' οὐδεὶς  
δύναται εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ εἰσελθὼν τὰ σκεύη αὐτοῦ διαρπάσαι  
28 τὰ ἁμαρτήματα *post* ἀνθρώπων ἐὰν *pro* ἂν 30 ὅτι  
ἔλεγον ὅτι 31 καὶ ἔρχονται *pro* ἔρχονται οὖν ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ  
καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ 32 περὶ αὐτὸν ὄχλος πολὺς καὶ

λέγουσιν *pro* εἶπον δὲ 33 καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς αὐτοῖς λέγει καὶ  
*pro* ἡ 34 *ad fin. vers. add.* οὗτοί εἰσιν 35 ἐὰν *pro* ἂν  
 μήτηρ μου

IV 1 ἦν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς 3 σπείραι τὸν σπόρον αὐτοῦ  
 4 σπείρειν αὐτὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ *om.* 5 καὶ ἄλλο *pro* ἄλλο  
 δὲ γῆς βάθος 6 καὶ ὅτε ἀνέτειλεν ὁ ἥλιος *pro* ἡλίον κ.τ.λ.  
 8 αὐξανόμενα εἰς τριάκοντα καὶ ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἐν ἑκατὸν  
 9 αὐτοῖς *om.* 10 καὶ ὅτε *pro* ὅτε δὲ ἡρώτων *pro* ἡρώτησαν  
 11 λέγεται *pro* γίνεται 12 βλάβωσιν συνῶσι 15 εὐθύς  
 16 ὁμοίως εἰσιν 18 οὗτοί εἰσιν 2<sup>ο</sup> *om.* ἀκούσαντες 20 ἐν  
*pro* ἐν *ter* 21 ὑπὸ *pro* ἐπὶ τεθῇ *pro* ἐπιτεθῇ 22 ἔλθῃ εἰς  
 φανερόν 24 ἀντιμετρηθήσεται 25 ἐὰν *pro* ἂν 26 ἔλεγεν  
 αὐτοῖς 31 κόκκον *pro* κόκκῳ μικρότερον 32 μείζων  
 πάντων τῶν λαχάνων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς 34 τοῖς ἰδίῳις μαθηταῖς  
 35 εἰς πέραν εἶπε τὸ 36 πλοῖα *pro* πλοῖαρία 37 καὶ τὰ  
 κύματα *pro* τὰ δὲ κύματα ἤδη γεμίζεσθαι αὐτῷ 38 αὐτὸς  
 ἦν ἐν τῇ πρύμνῃ 41 οἱ ἄνθρωποι

V 1 Γεργεσηνῶν 2 ὑπῆντησεν 3 μνήμασιν *pro* μνη-  
 μείοις οὔτε ἀλύσεσιν οὔτε πέδες 4 αὐτὸν 1<sup>ο</sup> *om.* οὐδεὶς  
 ἐδύνατο αὐτὸν δαμάσαι 5 ἦν *ante* διαπαντός ἐν τοῖς  
 μνήμασιν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν 6 ἀπὸ *om.* 7 λέγει *pro* εἶπε  
 11 πρὸς τὸ ὄρει 13 ἀγέλη πᾶσα 16 καὶ διηγῆσαντο δὲ  
 19 πεποιήκε καὶ ἠλέησέ σε ὁ Θεὸς (? ὁ κύριος *om.*) 22 παρακαλεῖ  
 27 τοῦ κρασπέδου τοῦ ἱματίου 33 τρέμονσα διὸ πεποιήκεν  
 40 πάντα 41 ταλιθὰ κούμ

VI 2 τοῦτο πάντα *pro* τοῦτῃ ταῦτα ὅτι *om.* 3 δὲ *om.*  
 4 συγγενεῦσιν αὐτοῦ 11 ἂν *om.* οὐ μὴ δέξωνται Σοδόμοις  
 καὶ 14 Ἑρώδης τὴν ἀκοὴν Ἰησοῦ 15 ἡ *om.* 17 φυλακῇ εἶπε τῇ  
 26 διὰ δὲ τοὺς ὅρκους ἤθελεν 30 καὶ 2<sup>ο</sup> *om.* 33 οἱ  
 ὄχλοι *om.* 35 προσελθόντες οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ  
 37 δηναρίων διακοσίων 38 ἐπιγινόντες 39 ἀνακλιθῆναι  
 44 ὥσει *om.* 45 τοὺς ὄχλους 52 αὐτῶν ἡ καρδιά 54 αὐτὸν  
 οἱ ἄνθρωποι τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου

VII 6 ὅτι *om.* ἐπροφήτευσεν ὅτι ὁ λαὸς οὗτος 11 ὁ  
 ἄνθρωπος 13 διὰ τὴν παράδοσιν ὑμῶν ἦν 15 κοινῶσαι  
 αὐτὸν 16 ὁ ἔχων *pro* εἴ τις ἔχει 19 καθαρίζων 24 εἰς  
 οἰκίαν 26 Συροφουνίκισσα τὸ γέννη 28 τῶν πιπτόντων  
 ψυχῶν τῶν παιδίων *om.* 29 ἐκ τῆς θυγατρὸς σου τὸ δαιμόνιον  
 30 ἐπὶ τὴν κλίνην 31 ἐξελθὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀπὸ 36 αὐτοὶ  
 μᾶλλον περισσοτέρως

VIII 1 πάλιν πολλοῦ ὁ Ἰησοῦς *om.* 2 ὄχλον τοῦτον

3 ἀπὸ μακρόθεν 4 ὤδε *om.* 6 αὐτοῖς *pro* τῷ ὄχλῳ  
 7 εὐλογήσας αὐτὰ εἶπεν παραθεῖναι αὐτὰ 8 ἐχορτάσθησαν πάντες  
 σπυρίδας πλήρεις 9 τετρακισχίλιοι ἄνδρες 10 καὶ ἐμβὰς  
 εὐθέως 12 ἑαυτοῦ *pro* αὐτοῦ οὐ *pro* εἰ 13 πάλιν  
 ἐμβὰς εἰς πλοῖον διήλθεν 14 ἐπελάθοντο οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ  
 ἓνα ἄρτον μόνον 16 ἐν ἑαυτοῖς *pro* πρὸς ἀλλήλους 19 κοφίνους  
 κλασμάτων ἤρατε πλήρεις 21 οὐπω 22 ἔρχονται *pro* ἔρχεται  
 23 αὐτοῦ *pro* αὐτῷ 24 εἶπεν *pro* ἔλεγεν ὅτι *om.*  
 ὁρῶ *om.* 28 ἀπεκρίθησαν λέγοντες 31 τῶν ἀρχιερέων  
 33 ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς 34 εἴ τις *pro* ὅστις 35 οὗτος  
*om.* 36 τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὅλον τὸν κόσμον 38 ἐὰν  
*pro* ἂν

**IX** 2 Ἰωάννην εἶπε τὸν 3 ἐγένοντο λευκᾶναι οὕτως  
 5 καὶ θέλης ποιήσωμεν τρεῖς σκηνάς 7 καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐγένετο  
 ἀκούετε αὐτοῦ 9 καὶ καταβαινόντων ἀναστῇ ἐκ νεκρῶν  
 12 πρῶτος *pro* πρῶτον καθὼς *pro* καὶ πῶς 13 πάντα ὅσα  
 15 ἰδόντες αὐτὸν ἐξεθαμβήθησαν 16 ἑαυτοῦς 17 ἄλαλον  
 καὶ κοφόν 18 ἐὰν *pro* ἂν 19 εἶπεν αὐτῷ 22 ἐφ'  
 ἡμᾶς κύριε 23 τὸ *om.* 25 ὁ ὄχλος 23 τοὺς πολλοὺς  
 28 εἰσελθόντος αὐτοῦ κατ' ἰδίαν ἐπηρώτων αὐτόν, διὰ τί  
 33 ἦλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς διελογίζεσθε πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς 34 τίς ἦ  
 μείζων 38 ἔφη *pro* ἀπεκρίθη δὲ *om.* ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι  
 τὰ δαιμόνια ὅς οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ ἡμῖν *om.* 39 ποιήσας *pro* ποιήσει  
 40 ἡμῶν *pro* ὑμῶν *bis* 41 μου *om.* ὅτι οὐ μὴ 42 μικρῶν  
 τούτων 45 ἔκκοψον καλὸν γὰρ

**X** 1 καὶ διὰ 7 καὶ εἶπεν ἔνεκεν 8 σὰρξ μία 10 ἐπη-  
 ρώτων 11 ἂν *pro* ἐὰν 17 ἰδοὺ τις πλούσιος προσδραμὼν  
 καὶ 20 *ad fin. add.* τί ἔτι ὑστερῶ 21 εἰ θέλεις τέλειος  
 εἶναι ὑπαγε πτωχοῖς εἶπε τοῖς σταυρόν σου 23 τοῖς  
 μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ λέγει 24 εἶπεν *pro* λέγει τεκνία χρήμασι  
 εἶπε τοῖς 25 τρυμαλιᾶς ραφίδος διελθεῖν 27 παρὰ ἀνθρώ-  
 ποις τοῦτο ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν Θεῷ εἶπε τῷ 28 ἤρξατο δὲ  
 29 καὶ ἔνεκεν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου 30 πατέρας ζωὴν αἰώνιον  
 κληρονομήσει 31 ἔσχατοι εἶπε οἱ 33 γραμματεῦσι εἶπε  
 τοῖς 34 ἐμπύτσουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ μαστιγώσουσιν αὐτόν 35 τοῦ  
 Ζεβεδαίου λέγοντες αὐτῷ σὺ ποιήσης 40 ἡτοίμασται  
 ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς μου 43 μέγας γενέσθαι ὑμῶν διάκονος  
 44 ὅς ἐὰν 48 αὐτὸς δὲ *pro* ὁ δὲ 50 ἀναπηδήσας *pro*  
 ἀναστὰς 51 αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν τί σοι θέλεις ποιήσω  
 52 αὐτῷ *pro* τῷ Ἰησοῦ

**XI** 1 ἐγγίζουσιν ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα

καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς Βιθφαγὴ καὶ 2 ἀγάγετέ μοι 3 τί λύετε τὸν  
 πῶλον *προ* τί ποιεῖτε τοῦτο 4 δεδεμένον τὸν πῶλον 5 ἐστώ-  
 των 6 ἐνετείλατο αὐτοῖς 7 φέρουσιν *προ* ἡγαγον 8 καὶ  
 πολλοὶ *προ* πολλοὶ δὲ 9 ὡσαννὰ τῷ ὑψίστῳ 10 καὶ εὐλογημένη  
 11 αὐτὴ εἰς τὸ ἱερόν *ομ.* καὶ 12 ἔτι *προ* ἤδη 13 ἀπὸ μακρόθεν  
 εἰ ἄρα τι φύλλα μόνον 14 ὁ Ἰησοῦς *ομ.* 15 μηκέτι εἰς τὸν  
 αἰῶνα ἐκ σοῦ καρπὸν μηδεὶς φάγοι 16 τοὺς ἀγοράζοντας 17 οἱ  
 ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς 18 19 ὅταν *προ* ὅτε ἐξεπορεύοντο  
 20 παραπορευόμενοι πρῶτῃ 21 ἰδοὺ *προ* ἶδε 22 ὁ Ἰησοῦς  
 23 εἰ ἔχετε πίστιν πιστεύετε λέγετε (*sed infra* αὐτῷ, *δρ.* ?)  
 24 ὅτι πάντα προσεύχεσθε καὶ αἰτεῖσθε 25 ἡ τίς σοι  
 ἔδωκεν τὴν ἐξουσίαν 26 Ἰησοῦς *ομ.* 27 κἀγὼ ὑμῖν ἐρῶ ἔνα  
 28 Ἰωάννου, πόθεν ἦν ; ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἡ 29 διελογίζοντο οὖν *ομ.*  
 30 31 32 ἔαν *ομ.* 33 τῷ Ἰησοῦ λέγουσιν

XII 1 ἄνθρωπος ἐφύτευεν ὡκοδόμησεν αὐτῷ πύργον 2 ἀπὸ  
 τῶν καρπῶν 3 ἕνα εἶχεν υἱὸν (*et add.* καὶ ?) αὐτὸν *sine* καὶ  
 ἔσχατον πρὸς αὐτοὺς 4 γεωργοὶ θεασάμενοι αὐτὸν ἐρχόμενον πρὸς  
 ἑαυτοὺς εἶπον 5 ἐξέβαλον αὐτὸν 6 ἡμῶν *προ* ἡμῶν  
 7 ἐφοβούντο τὴν παραβολὴν ταύτην 8 καὶ *προ* οἱ δὲ  
 εἰπὲ οὖν ἡμῖν, ἔξεστιν ἐπικεφάλαιον δοῦναι κήσον Καίσαρι ἡ οὐ ;  
 9 τῷ Καίσαρι ἐθαύμαζον 10 ἐπρώτων 11 ἵνα *προ*  
 ὅτι 12 ἐπτά οὖν ἀδελφοὶ ἦσαν παρ' ἡμῖν γυναῖκα καὶ  
 ἀπέθανε καὶ ἀποθνήσκων 13 μὴ καταλείπων σπέρμα *προ* καὶ  
 οὐδὲ κ.τ.λ. 14 καὶ οἱ ἐπτά ἔλαβον ἔσχατον πάντων καὶ ἡ  
 γυνὴ ἀπέθανεν 15 ἀναστάσει οὖν 16 ἀγγελοὶ Θεοῦ 17 τοῦ  
 βάρτου ἐγὼ εἰμὶ ὁ Θεὸς Ἰακώβ καὶ ὁ Θεὸς Ἰσαὰκ 18 οὐκ  
 ἐστὶν Θεὸς αὐτὴ ζώντων *ομ.* Θεὸς 19 ἰδὼν *προ* εἰδὼς  
 πάντων *προ* πασῶν 20 πρώτη πάντων ἐντολὴ 21 αὕτη  
 ἐστὶν ἡ πρώτη ἐντολή 22 αὕτης *προ* αὕτη (*vel* ὁμοία αὕτης,  
 αὕτη ?) 23 οὐκ ἐτόλμα 24 Δαδ ἐστι 25 ἐν πνεύ-  
 ματι ἀγίῳ 26 πῶς *προ* πόθεν

XIII 1 εἶπεν *προ* λέγει 2 ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀφεθῇ  
 ὡδε 3 ταῦτα πάντα 4 εἰμὶ ὁ Χριστὸς 5 ὁράτε μὴ  
 6 ἀρχῇ ταῦτα πάντα 7 ἐπὶ ἡγεμόνας καὶ βασιλεῖς  
 8 πρῶτον δεῖ 9 προμεμνήσκηται 10 καὶ πατὴρ τέκνον μὴ  
 11 ἐστὸς ἐν τόπῳ ὅπου 12 χεμῶνος μηδὲ σαββᾶτῳ 13 κτίσεως  
 κόσμου 14 ἐκολόβωσεν ὁ Θεὸς 15 τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐκείνων  
*προ* ἐκείνην 16 ὅταν ἦδη ὁ κλάδος αὐτῆς ἀπαλὸς 17 εἰδῆτε  
 ταῦτα 18 ταῦτα *ομ.* 19 ἡ *προ* καὶ οἱ ἀγγελοὶ τῶν  
 οὐρανῶν οὐδὲ ὁ υἱὸς εἰ μὴ ὁ πατὴρ μόνος 20 ὡς γὰρ  
 γρηγορήσῃ 21 εὐρήσει

**XIV 3** πολυτίμου *pro* πολοτελοῦς τὸν ἀλάβαστρον **5** τοῦτο  
τὸ μύρον **6** ἐν ἐμοὶ *pro* εἰς ἐμέ **7** πάντοτε εἰ ποιεῖσαι  
**8** ἔσχεν τὸ σῶμά μου **9** ὅπου ἔαν **10** Ἰούδας  
Ἰσκαριώτης (*sic* *ὁ δις*) αὐτὸν παραδῶ **11** ἀργύρια  
πῶς αὐτὸν εὐκαίρως **13** λέγων *pro* καὶ λέγει **14** καταλύμά  
μου **15** ἡμῖν *pro* ὑμῖν καὶ ἐκεῖ **16** καὶ ἐξῆλθον  
ἐτοιμάσε αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ **19** λυπεῖσθαι καὶ ἀδημονεῖν  
ἐγὼ εἰμι (*1<sup>o</sup>*) **22** καὶ εὐλογήσας **24** ἐκχυνόμενον εἰς  
ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν **27** διασκορπισθήσονται τὰ πρόβατα τῆς ποιμένης  
**29** εἰ καὶ **30** σὺ σήμερον **31** ὁ δὲ Πέτρος μᾶλλον  
ἔαν δέη με σὺν σοὶ ἀποθανεῖν **32** προσεύξομαι **35** προσελθὼν  
**36** τοῦτο ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἀλλ' ὃ τι σύ **37** ἔρχεται πρὸς τοὺς  
μαθητάς **38** γρηγορεῖτε οὖν **40** αὐτῶν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ  
ἀποκριθῶσιν αὐτῷ **41** ἀπέχει τὸ τέλος **42** μου *pro* με  
**43** Ἰούδας ὁ Ἰσκαριώτης ὢν *om.* **46** ἐπέβαλον τὰς χεῖρας  
αὐτῷ **50** ἀφέντες αὐτὸν οἱ μαθηταὶ ἔφυγον πάντες **51** ἠκολού-  
θησεν **52** ἔφυγεν γυμνός **53** ἀρχιερέα Καϊάφαν **55** ἵνα  
αὐτὸν θανατώσουσιν **58** τοῦτον τὸν ναὸν ἀχειροποιήτον  
*pro* τὸν χειροποιήτον **59** ἦν *om.* **61** οὐκ ἀπεκρίνατο οὐδέν  
**62** ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτῷ σὺ εἶπας ὅτι ἐγὼ **64** εἶναι  
*post* θανάτου **65** περικαλύπτειν αὐτῷ αὐτοῦ *om.* *post*  
πρόσωπον *προφήτευσον* νῦν ἡμῖν Χριστέ, τίς ἐστιν ὁ παῖσα σε  
(*sic*) **66** κάτω ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ **68** οὔτε οἶδα οὔτε σὺ  
τί λέγεις **69** παρεστῶσιν

**XV 3** *post* πολλά *add.* αὐτὸς δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο **6** ἀπέλυσεν  
**12** πάλιν ἀποκριθεὶς τὸν βασιλέα **13** ἐκραύγαζον *pro*  
ἔκραξαν **14** ἐκραύγαζον *pro* ἔκραξαν σταύρωσον σταύρωσον  
**15** ποιεῖν *pro* ποιῆσαι **16** ἔξω τῆς αὐλῆς **17** χλαμίδα  
κοκκίνην καὶ πορφύραν **18** ὁ βασιλεὺς *pro* βασιλεῦ **20** τὴν  
χλαμίδα καὶ πορφύραν **22** τὸν Γολγοθᾶ **23** διδούσι  
ἐσλαφνισμένον (*sic habet collatio*) *pro* ἐσμυρνισμένον **24** καὶ  
σταυρώσαντες δὲ διεμέρισαν **25** ὅτε *pro* καὶ **26** Ἰουδαίων  
οὗτος **30** κατέβηθι **32** εἰ ὁ Χριστὸς Ἰσραὴλ ἐστιν  
πιστεύσωμεν αὐτῷ **33** καὶ γενομένης *pro* γενομένης δὲ **34** τῇ  
ἐννάτῃ ὥρᾳ **35** εἶδε *pro* ἰδοὺ **36** τε *om.* **39** υἱὸς  
Θεοῦ ἦν ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος **40** καὶ *2<sup>o</sup> om.* ἡ τοῦ  
*om.* **41** καὶ *1<sup>o</sup> om.* **43** ἐλθὼν *pro* ἦλθεν **46** εἰς *pro* ἐπὶ

**XVI 1** ἡ τοῦ *om.* τὸν Ἰησοῦν *pro* αὐτόν **2** τῇ μᾶ τῶν  
σαββάτων **9** ἀναστὰς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς **11** ἐκείνοι *pro* κἀκείνοι  
**14** ἐγγηγερμένοι ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν **16** ὅτι ὁ πιστεύων *pro* ὁ πιστεύσας  
**19** κύριος Ἰησοῦς

## ST. LUKE.

**XXII** 3 *ante* Σατανᾶς *om.* ὁ καλούμενον 4 ἀρχιερεῦσι  
καὶ γραμματεῦσι στρατηγοῖς τοῦ λαοῦ 5 ἀργύρια 6 ὁμο-  
λόγησε 8 ἀπέστειλεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς 9 ἐτοιμάσωμέν σοι  
10 ὑπαντήσῃ 14 ἀπόστολοι *om.* 16 αὐτῷ *pro* ἐξ αὐτοῦ  
18 *add.* ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν *sed quo loco per incuriam in collatione non*  
*potant* 19 κλόμενον *pro* διδόμενον 25 ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς  
26 *post* ἡγούμενος *add.* γένεσθω 27 μείζων ἐστι 30 ἐπὶ  
δώδεκα θρόνων 34 ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς 35 οὐδ' ἐνός 36 δὲ  
*pro* οὖν 37 εἰ *pro* ἔτι 38 ἰδοὺ ὧδε μάχαιραι 42 παρενέγκαι  
43, 44 *om.* *m. pr. sed addidit m. alt. eiusdem fere temporis*  
47 προῆγεν *pro* προήρχετο *ad fin. vers.* τοῦτο γὰρ σημείον  
δέδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὃν ἂν φιλήσω αὐτός ἐστιν 49 τὰ ἐσόμενα  
52 ἐξήλθατε *post* ξύλων *add.* συλλαβεῖν με 53 ἡ ὥρα  
ὑμῶν 57 ἡρνήσατο εἰπε αὐτὸν οὐκ οἶδα αὐτὸν 60 *ante*  
ἀλέκτωρ *om.* ὁ 61 Ἰησοῦ *pro* Κυρίου πρὶν ἢ 64 ἐπηρώτησαν  
προφήτευσον ἡμῖν Χριστὲ 66 ἀπήγαγον 69 ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν δὲ  
71 εἶπαν μαρτύρων *pro* μαρτυρίας

**XXIII** 1 ἤγαγον πρὸς *pro* ἐπὶ 2 ἤρξαν *pro* ἤρξαντο  
ἡύραμεν 3 ἀποκρίθει αὐτῷ λέγων 8 ἐξ ἱκανῶν χρόνων  
11 περιβαλὼν τε 12 ὁ τε Ἡρώδης καὶ ὁ Πιλάτος ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ  
ἡμέρᾳ 15 ἀνέπεμψεν γὰρ αὐτὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς 17 ἀνάγκη δὲ  
εἶχεν αὐτοῖς κατὰ ἑορτὴν ἀπολύειν ἕνα 19 ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ *pro* εἰς  
φυλακὴν 20 δὲ *pro* οὖν προσεφώνησεν αὐτοῖς 22 ἄξιον  
*pro* αἰτίον εὐρίσκω *pro* εἶρον 25 *ante* φυλακὴν *om.* τὴν  
26 ἀπήγαγον αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ σταυρῶσαι *ante* ἐρχομένου *om.* τοῦ  
27 γυναῖκες *pro* γυναικῶν *ante* ἐκόπτοντο *om.* καὶ 32 ἦγοντο  
δὲ αὐτῷ σὺν τῷ Ἰησοῦ καὶ ἕτεροι δύο σὺν αὐτῷ συναιρεθῆναι  
33 ἦλθον *pro* ἀπῆλθον εἰς *pro* ἐπὶ 34 ἐβαλλον  
35 ἐξεμυκτήριζον δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ ἐκλεκτός  
37 σῶσον σεαυτὸν καὶ κατάβα ἀπὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ 45 ἐσχίσθη δὲ  
48 ὄχλοι *om.* θεωρίσαντες 51 ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς προσεδέχετο  
53 αὐτὸ 1<sup>ο</sup> *om.* αὐτὸν *pro* αὐτὸ 2<sup>ο</sup> ὃ *pro* οὐ οὐδεὶς  
οὐδέπω *ad. fin. vers.* τεθέντος αὐτοῦ· ἐπέθηκε τῷ μνημεῖῳ λίθον  
55 αἱ γυναῖκες ἀπὸ *pro* ἐκ 56 δὲ *om.*

**XXIV** 1 ἦλθον ὀρθρου βαθέος μνημεῖον *pro* μνήμα  
3 εἰσελθοῦσαι δὲ κυρίου *om.* 10 ἡ Ἰακώβου 18 εἰς εἰπε ὁ  
*ante* Ἱερουσαλὴμ *om.* ἐν 20 αὐτὸν παρέδωκαν 34 ὄντως  
ἡγέρθη 44 καὶ εἶπεν *pro* εἶπε δὲ 47 ἀρξάμενος

ST. JOHN.

V 5 ἐκεῖ ἄνθρωπος 7 ναὶ κύριε ἄνθρωπον δὲ 8 ὑπαγε  
 εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου *pro* καὶ περιπάτει 10 κράβαττόν σου 11 ὁ δὲ  
 ἀπεκρίθη 12 ἐστὶν *om.* ἐκείνος ὁ ἄνθρωπος 14 λέγει  
*pro* εἶπεν 15 ἀπήγγειλεν 17 αὐτοῖς λέγων 18 ἀλλ' ὅτι  
 19 ἀπεκρίθη 22 οὐδὲν γὰρ κρινεῖ 28 θαυμάσητε  
 ἀκούσασιν 30 ἀλλὰ καθὼς 36 δέδωκέ *ante* ποιῶ  
*om.* ἐγὼ 38 ἐν ὑμῖν μένοντα 44 ἀνθρώπων *pro* ἀλλήλων  
 μονογενοὺς *pro* μόνοι 47 πιστεύετε *pro* πιστεύετε  
 VI 2 ἡκολούθη δὲ ἐθεώρει *pro* ἐώρων 3 ὅρος *sine* τὸ  
 5 τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὁ Ἰησοῦς *m. pr. om.* πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον *sed*  
*add. m. sec. in rasura* 7 ὁ Φίλιππος ἀκρέσσωσιν *pro* ἀρκοῦσιν  
 9· ἐν *om.* ὅς *pro* ὁ 11 ἔδωκε *pro* διέδωκε 17 *ante*  
 πλοῖον *om.* τὸ γέγονει οὐπω *pro* οὐκ 21 ἐγένετο τὸ πλοῖον  
 22 εἰδὼς *pro* ἰδὼν ἐκείνο *om.* πλοῖον *pro* πλοῖαριον  
 23 ἀλλὰ δὲ πλοῖαρία ἦλθεν τῆς Τιβεριάδος οὐ *pro* ὅπου  
 24 πλοῖαρία *pro* πλοῖα 27 βρῶσιν 2<sup>o</sup> *om.* 29 *ante* Ἰησοῦς  
*om.* ὁ 38 ἀπὸ *pro* ἐκ 40 γάρ *pro* δέ τοῦ πατρός  
 μου *pro* τοῦ πέμψαντός με 42 Ἰησοῦς *om.* οὗτος λέγει  
 45 ἔστιν *pro* ἐστί οὖν *om.* 46 ἐώρακέν τις 47 εἰς  
 ἐμέ *om.* 51 ὁ ζῶν *om.* ζήσει *pro* ζήσεται 52 οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι  
 πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὴν σάρκα δοῦναι 55 ἀληθῆς (? *bis*)  
 57 ἀπέσταλκε ὁ πατὴρ ὁ ζῶν ζήσει *pro* ζήσεται  
 58 ζήσει *pro* ζήσεται 60 ὁ λόγος οὗτος 63 λελάληκα  
*pro* λαλῶ 64 ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὴ *om.* 66 πολλοὶ  
 τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ ἀπῆλθον 68 οὖν *om.* 70 ἐξελεξάμην τοὺς  
 δώδεκα 71 Ἰσκαριώτου παραδιδόναι αὐτόν  
 VII 1 μετὰ ταῦτα *ante* περιεπάτει 3 σου 2<sup>o</sup> *om.* ἃ σὺ ποιεῖς  
 4 τι ἐν κρυπτῷ 8 οὐκ ἀναβαίνω ὁ ἐμὸς καιρὸς 10 εἰς τὴν  
 ἑορτὴν *ante* τότε 12 ἦν *ante* περὶ ἄλλος ἔλεγεν *pro* ἄλλοι δὲ  
 ἔλεγον 15 ἐθαύμαζον οὖν 21 *ante* Ἰησοῦς *om.* ὁ 29 *ad*  
*fin. vers. m. sec. add.* καὶ ἐὰν εἴπω ὅτι οὐκ οἶδα αὐτὸν ἔσομαι ὁμοιος  
 ὑμῶν ψεύστης 30 τὰς χεῖρας *pro* τὴν χεῖρα 31 πολλοὶ ἐκ  
 τοῦ ὄχλου οὖν τούτων *om.* 32 ἤκουσαν οὖν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς  
 καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι 33 αὐτοῖς *om.* 35 εὗρίσκομεν 36 ὁ λόγος  
 οὗτος 40 τῶν λόγων τούτων *pro* τὸν λόγον 41 ὅτι οὗτός  
 οἱ *pro* ἄλλοι 42 ἢ οὐχὶ ἔρχεται ὁ Χριστός 43 ἐγένετο  
*ante* ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ 46 ἐλάλησεν οὕτως 50 πρὸς αὐτὸν  
 νυκτὸς τὸ πρῶτον

VIII 1-11 *codex sic habet*:—Ἰησοῦς δὲ ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὸ ὄρος



τῶν Ἑλαιῶν ὄρθρου. καὶ πάλιν παραγίνεται εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἤρχετο καὶ καθίσας ἐδίδασκεν αὐτούς. Ἀγουνισὺν δὲ οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι γυναῖκα ἐπὶ ἁμαρτίᾳ εἰλημμένην, καὶ στήσαντες αὐτὴν ἐν μέσῳ λέγουσιν αὐτῇ ἐκπειράζοντες οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ἵνα ἔχῃσι κατηγορεῖν αὐτοῦ, Διδάσκαλε, αὕτη ἡ γυνὴ κατεῖληπται ἑπαντοφώρῳ μοιχευομένῃ. Μωυσῆς δὲ ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ νόμῳ διακελεύει τὰς τοιαύτας λιθάζειν· σὺ τί λέγεις; ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς κάτω κεκυφὼς τῷ δακτύλῳ κατέγραφεν εἰς τὴν γῆν. ὥς δὲ ἐπέμενον ἀνερωτώντες ἀνέκυψεν καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Ὁ ἀναμάρτητος ὑμῶν πρῶτος ἐπ' αὐτὴν βαλέτω λίθον· καὶ πάλιν κατακύψας τῷ δακτύλῳ κατέγραφεν εἰς τὴν γῆν. ἕκαστος δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐξήρχετο ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ὥστε πάντας ἐξελεῖν, καὶ κατελείφθη μόνος, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἐν μέσῳ οὔσα. ἀνακύψας δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν τῇ γυναικὶ Ποῦ εἰσίν; οὐδεὶς σε κατέκρινεν; καὶ αὐτὴ εἶπεν Οὐδεὶς, κύριε. καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν Οὐδὲ ἐγὼ σε κατακρίνω· πορεύου, ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν μηκέτι ἁμάρτανε. 12 ἐλάλησεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς 16 δὲ οἱ. 17 δὲ οἱ. 19 ἂν ᾗδετε 21 αὐτοῖς οἱ. ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις 23 ἔλεγεν pro εἶπεν 24 ἐν γὰρ . . . ὑμῶν οἱ. 25 εἶπεν οὖν pro καὶ εἶπεν 26 λαλῶ pro λέγω 27 ἔγνωσαν δὲ 29 καὶ οὐκ ἀφῆκέν ὁ πατήρ οἱ. 35 ὁ υἱὸς . . . αἰῶνα οἱ. 36 ἔστε pro ἔσεσθε 38 ἃ pro ὅ δις 40 ἄνθρωπος πατρός pro Θεοῦ 42 οὖν οἱ. 44 ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ διαβόλου 46 με οἱ. δὲ οἱ. 48 οὖν οἱ. 53 σὺ οἱ. 59 καὶ διελθὼν ἐπορεύετο καὶ παρήγγεν

The most interesting feature in this collation is the very remarkable similarity of the text of the *pericope adulterae* to that found in Codex Bezae.

It includes no less than eight variants which are peculiar to D 1071, though one of them, ἐπὶ ἁμαρτίᾳ pro ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ, is supported by the version of the story which, according to Eusebius, was quoted by Papias from the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, and by the Edschmiadzin Codex, published by Mr. F. C. Conybeare in the *Expositor* for December, 1895, p. 406.

This striking similarity suggests the possibility that the scribe of cod. 1071 made use of Codex Bezae, at least in this passage, and in that case we have a valuable hint that Codex Bezae was in the South of Italy in the twelfth century—

a suggestion which is strongly supported by Dr. Rendel Harris' book on the *Annotators of Codex Bezae*. In any case the scribe of cod. 1071 must have had as an exemplar for the *pericope adulterae* either Codex Bezae or a MS. with a similar text. As the text of cod. 1071 as a whole is not remarkable for any similarity to Codex Bezae, it would seem as though he only used it in order to correct his usual exemplar. The question therefore arises whether he may have made this use of it in other passages. To afford some data for answering this question I have appended a list, which is intended to be illustrative rather than exhaustive, of passages where cod. 1071 has the support of only a few other MSS. It will be seen that in some of these passages cod. 1071 is found together with Codex Bezae. But in the majority of instances this is not the case, and cod. 1071 has readings in common with almost every type of authority in turn.

Therefore I think that although it is quite probable that the scribe of cod. 1071 had access to Codex Bezae and made use of it in the *pericope adulterae*, it is improbable that he did so elsewhere, and except in the case of the *pericope*, there is no reason for thinking that the evidence of cod. 1071 is merely a direct copy of the evidence of Codex Bezae.

**Mt V 18** *post νόμον add.* καὶ τῶν προφητῶν c. 13-124-543 565; arm syr-hr Iren-lat **22** *ante μωρέ add.* τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ c. L, 1-209 13-124-543 700; ff<sub>1</sub> syr-sin-cur arm boh **44** καλῶς . . . μισούντας ὑμᾶς om. c. NB, 1-209 22; k syr-sin-cur boh; Athen Clem Orig Iren-lat Cyp

**VI 5** *προσεύχεσθε . . . ἔσθε* c. N\* et cBZ, 1-118-209 22 lat pler sah boh syr-hl mg arm-codd Orig Clem Aug **24** οὐδεὶς οἰκέτης c. LΔ, al. *pauc.* **28** κοπιῶσιν οὐδὲ νήθουσιν c. NB, 1-118-209 4 33; Athan Clem **32** ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα Δ, 13-124-543; c f ff<sub>2</sub> vg; Aug **32** ἐπιζητοῦσιν c. NB, 1-118-209 4 13-124-543 22 207; Max

**XXI 24** *post αὐτοῖς add.* ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν c. *nulla auctoritate* **26** οὖν om. c. DL, 28 126 700 al; a b e ff<sub>2</sub> 9 syr-sin-pesh; Orig

**Mc I 7** κύψας om. c. D, 28 256 565 **17** γενέσθαι om. c.

1-118-131-209 13-69 28 48 108 115 127 258 274 700; b syrr-sin-pesh aeth perss 26 φωνῆσαν *pro* (φωνήσας) κράξαν c. NBL, 33; Orig Dam 36 ὁ τε Σίμων c. (D)ΚΠ, 1-118-131-209 69-124-543 28 *al. pauc.* (D\* τε Σίμων, D<sup>2</sup> τότε Σίμων) 45 δύνασθαι αὐτὸν c. NΦ, 225 245 292 700

II 3 φέροντες πρὸς αὐτὸν c. NBL, 33 16 ἐσθίει καὶ πίνει ὁ διδάσκαλος ὑμῶν c. LΔ, 69-346 *al. pauc.*; f ff<sub>1</sub> g<sub>1</sub> l vg boh 24 ποιοῦσιν οἱ μαθηταὶ σου c. DM, 1-118-131-209 13-69-124-346-543 28 61 115 161 472 565 700; latt syrr-sin-hr aeth 25 λέγει *pro* ἔλεγεν c. NCL, 13-69-124-543 28 33 700 b d f g<sub>1</sub> i q vg (ait) boh

III 16 ἐπέθηκεν αὐτοῖς ὀνόματα τῷ Σίμωνι Πέτρον c. 33 238; aeth 33 καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς αὐτοῖς λέγει c. NBCLΔ; vg boh syr-hl

IV 8 αὐξανόμενα c. NB 11 λέγεται *pro* γίνεται c. D, 28 64 124 565; a b c ff<sub>2</sub> g<sub>1</sub> i q 41 οἱ ἄνεμοι c. N<sup>ca</sup>(D)E, 1-118-131-209 33 *al. pauc.*; c g<sub>2</sub> i q boh pesh aeth; Vict-Ant

V 1 Γεργεσηνῶν c. N<sup>ca</sup>LUΔ, 1-118-131-209 28 33 565 700 *al. pauc.*; boh syr-sin-hl-mg Epiph. Thphyl. (? Orig) 27 τοῦ κρασπέδου τοῦ ἱματίου c. M, 1-118-209 33 33 *add.* διὸ πεποίηκε c. D, 50 124 565 a ff<sup>2</sup> i arm (syr-sin *defic.*) *sed haec et λάβρα addunt*

VI 2 πάντα c. (N)(C\*)Δ, *al. pauc.* f g<sub>1</sub> g<sub>2</sub> vg 7 τοὺς δώδεκα μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ c. D, 474 569 b ff<sub>2</sub> g<sub>2</sub> i q (*sed* D latt *om.* αὐτοῦ) 26 ἤθελεν *pro* ἠθέλησεν c. Π\*, 1-209 *al. pauc.* 39 ἀνακλιθῆναι c. NB\*SΦ, 1-118-209 13-69-346-543 28 157 565 700 *al. pauc.*

VII 31 ἀπὸ *pro* ἐκ c. 565 36 περισσοτέρως c. NDWd, 61 700

VIII 2 ὄχλον τούτον c. L *al. pauc.*; a b c f ff<sub>2</sub> g<sub>1</sub> i q boh syrr-sin-pesh 4 ὥδε *om.* c. DH, 69; b c ff<sub>2</sub> i q go 8 ἐχορτάσθησαν πάντες c. KMH, 33 *al. pauc.* 24 εἶπεν *pro* ἔλεγεν c. N\*C, *al. pauc.*

IX 22 *post* ἡμᾶς *add.* κύριε c. 262 (cf DG, 565; a b g<sub>2</sub> i q arm) 38 ἔφη *pro* ἀπεκρίθη c. NBDΨ; boh syr-pesh 25 . . . ἡμῖν *om.* c. NBCLΔΨ, 10 115 346; f boh syr-sin-pesh aeth arm perss

X 21 *post* ὑστερεῖ *add.* εἰ θέλεις τέλειος εἶναι c. *al. pauc.*; arm; Clem (*et add. ante* ἐν KMNII, 13-69-124-346-543 28 565 *al. pauc.*; boh syr hl c\* aeth) 40 *ad fin. vers. add.* ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς μου c. N\* et ob, 1-118-209 *al. pauc.*; a syr hl mg

XI 3 τί λύτεν τὸν πῶλον c. D, 13-69-124-346-543 28 565 700; a b f ff<sub>2</sub> i arm Orig

XII 14 ἐπικεφάλειον c. D, 124 565; k (*capitularium*)

**XIII 32** ὁ πατήρ μόνος c. 13-124-346-543 262 565; a k sah aeth.

**XIV 41** ἀπέχει τὸ τέλος c. D, 13-69-124-346-543 565; d q (*sufficit finis*)

**XV 12** πάλιν ἀποκριθεὶς c. NBC, 33; syr-hl aeth 13 ἐκραύ-  
γαζον c. 472 565 46 εἰς τὴν θύραν c. Δ

**Lc XXII 4** add. καὶ τοῖς γραμματεῦσιν c. CP, 48 60 106 127  
254 346 700; a b c e ff<sub>2</sub> i l q syrr-sin-cur-pesh-hl arm aeth; Eus-  
dem 47 προῆγεν D, 1-118-131-209 69-124 22 al. *pauc.*

**XXIII 1** πρὸς *pro* ἐπὶ c. L, 157 al. *pauc.* 3 ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῷ  
λέγων c. D (1-118-131-209); a (sah boh) 27 γυναῖκες c. D,  
243; c f sah syr-cur-pesh 35 ἐξεμυκτήριζον δὲ αὐτὸν c. ND,  
1-118-131-209 239 248 482; a c arm-ed ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ  
ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς c. 13-69-124-346-543 (126 472); sah boh syr-hr-hl  
arm; Eus-dem 53 add. *ad fin. vers.* τεθέντος αὐτοῦ ἐπέθηκε  
τῷ μνημεῖῳ λίθον c. D; c sah (*sed add.* ὃν μόγις εἴκοσι ἐκύλιον)

**XXIV 3** κυρίου *om.* c. f sah syrr-sin-cur-pesh 44 καὶ εἶπεν  
*pro* εἶπε δὲ c. D; a c e f ff<sub>2</sub> l q vg syr-pesh-hr aeth

**Jo V 38** ἐν ὑμῖν μένοντα c. NBL, 1-118-209 (13)-124 33 al.  
*pauc.*; Cyr 44 τοῦ μονογενοῦς Θεοῦ *cf.* Eus-prep. μόνου τοῦ ἐνὸς

**VI 17** οὕτω c. NBLD, 33 13-69-124-543 al. *pauc.*; a b e syr-  
hr; Cyr 47 εἰς ἐμὲ *om.* c. NBLT; arm 57 ἀπέσταλκε c.  
D, 13-69-124-543 al. *pauc.*

**VII 8** οὐκ *pro* οὕτω c. NDKMII, 17 389 482; a b c e al boh  
syrr-sin-cur

**VIII 24** ἐὰν . . . ὑμῶν *om.* c. 118\*-209\* 33 al. *pauc.*; ff<sub>2</sub>  
35 ὁ υἱὸς . . . αἰῶνα *om.* c. NXT, 33 124 al. *pauc.*; Clem.

## V. SOME CHAPTERS OF THE ACTA PILATI.

ANY attempt at textual criticism of the A recension of Acta Pilati is rendered a task even more difficult than it naturally is by the obscure and subjective arrangement of the text and apparatus in Tischendorf's edition. So far however as a superficial examination of the material can show, the MSS. which Tischendorf quotes are none of them very closely related. He uses, at least partially, nine Greek MSS., ABCDEFGHI (among which BFH and CGE seem to form groups, though with much mixture), a Latin version, and an early Coptic version. To this apparatus Mr. Conybeare added in *Studia Biblica*, iv. 3, two Armenian versions, which are substantially the same, translated into Greek and Latin. The text now printed is that of another Greek MS., which may be called J.

This is ff. 322<sup>r</sup>-336<sup>v</sup> of a paper MS. at the Laura, numbered A 117, written in the fourteenth or fifteenth century. Had time not been pressing, or had the monks been willing to allow the codex to be photographed, it would have been possible to give the text complete. As it is, I can only offer the results of an exceedingly hurried collation of chaps. 1, 3-12, made with a copy of the 1853 edition of Tischendorf's *Evangelia Apocrypha*, which Father Chrysostom very kindly lent us.

There can be little doubt that this MS. does not belong to any group of MSS. used by Tischendorf, and that while in some places the hand of the redactor is apparent, in others the text has every appearance of being early.

Any elaborate analysis would be out of place, but it may be well to mention briefly a few points which seem interesting.

1. There are a considerable number of places where a text hitherto found only in versions now receives the support of a Greek MS. Among others the following are noticeable:—

(α) Preface. Ἐν ἔτει ἐννεακαίδεκάτῳ: so Lat. (Copt.) Arm.<sup>a</sup>: cf. Eusebius' Chronology.

(β) 1, 3. ὅτε με ἀπέστειλας: so Lat. Copt. Arm. All Greek MSS. prefix κύριε ἡγεμῶν or a similar phrase.

(γ) 1, 6. Λέγει τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις: cf. Arm.<sup>a</sup> λέγει αὐτοῖς. Gk. Lat. Copt. read λέγει τοῖς ἀρχισυναγώγοις καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις τοῦ λαοῦ.

(δ) 1, 6. κάμπτονται ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν καὶ προσκυνοῦσιν: the Coptic is the only other authority for καὶ προσκυνοῦσιν.

(ε) 5, 1. Add. ἀλλ' οὐχ ὅλα: so Lat. Arm. (Copt.). No Greek MSS. read this, but there is a trace of it in a fairly widespread reading οὐκ ὀλίγα.

(ζ) 12, 1. ἐμφανισθεῖς: so Arm. Others apparently παρεκβάς.

2. Certain readings which have no support are interesting. Chief among these are:—

(α) 6, 1 seqq. In most authorities the evidence of the various Jews who testify to miracles of healing is introduced by the phrase παραπηδήσας. (On the possible origin of this see Dr. Rendel Harris' *Homeric Centones*.) In J this phrase is consistently omitted, but in three places the similarly descriptive touch is added that the evidence was given 'μετὰ δακρύων.'

(β) 6, 2. The evidence of the κωφός is not given in any other authority.

(γ) 9-10. The two malefactors. In all other authorities, except one passage (16, 7) in Arm.<sup>β</sup>, Δυσμᾶς is always mentioned first, is on the right hand, and is the penitent thief. In J the exact opposite is the case, and this fact becomes important in the light of the lecture on the subject of these names delivered by Dr. Rendel Harris at Mansfield College, where he showed reasons for thinking that in the primitive form of the tradition the names and characters were as in J.

The existence of such a MS. was unknown to him when he first wrote his lecture, though he knew of it in time to mention it—a remarkable, and indeed unusual, confirmation of theory by discovery.

(δ) 12, 1. The statement that the room was sealed with Kaiaphas' signet is unique. It is an extraordinary addition, whether early or late, since taken in connexion with the fact that Kaiaphas had also charge of the key, it creates an obvious and irresistible chain of circumstantial evidence that Kaiaphas secretly let Joseph out of his prison.

Ὑπομνήματα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πραχθέντα ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου ἱστορήσαντος Νικοδήμου καὶ συντάξαντος αὐτοῦ γράμμασι ῥωμαϊκοῖς, ἐβραϊκοῖς καὶ ἑλληνικοῖς<sup>1</sup>.

Ἐν ἔτει ἑννέα καὶ δεκάτῃ τῆς ἡγεμονίας Τιβερίου Καίσαρος βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων καὶ Ἡρώδου τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ πρώτου Ἡρώδου βασιλέως τῆς Γαλιλαίας τῇ πρὸ ὀκτὼ καλανδῶν Ἀπριλλίων ἦτις ἐστὶν Μαρτίῳ καὶ ἐπὶ ὑπατίας Ῥούφου καὶ Ῥουμελιώνος ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ ἔτει τῆς διακοσιοστῆς δευτέρας Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέων τῶν Ἰουδαίων Ἰωσήπου καὶ Ἄννα καὶ Καϊάφα, ὅσα κατὰ τὸν σταυρὸν καὶ τὸ πάθος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ συνέταξεν κατὰ ἀκρίβειαν τὰ πεπραγμένα τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς Ἰουδαίοις οὗτος.

I. I. Ὁ Ἄννας καὶ Καϊάφας καὶ Σουμὴν καὶ Δοθαῖλ καὶ Γαμαλιήλ Ἰούδας καὶ Νεφθαλείμ Ἀλέξανδρος Ἑρμιλος καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἦλθον πρὸς Πιλάτον κατηγοροῦντες τοῦ Ἰησοῦ περὶ πολλῶν πράξεων λέγοντες ὅτι Τοῦτον οἶδαμεν υἷον εἶναι Ἰωσήφ τοῦ τέκτονος ἀπὸ Μαρίας γεννηθέντα, καὶ λέγει ἑαυτὸν εἶναι υἷον Θεοῦ καὶ βασιλέα, οὐ μόνον δὲ τοῦτο ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ σάββατα βεβηλοῖ καὶ τὸν πάτριον νόμον ἡμῶν βούλεται καταλύειν· νόμον δὲ ἔχομεν τοιοῦτον ἐν σαββάτῳ μὴ θεραπεύειν τινά· οὗτος δὲ χωλοὺς καὶ λεπροὺς καὶ τυφλοὺς καὶ παραλυτικοὺς καὶ δαιμονιζομένους

<sup>1</sup> The MS. has at this point the Prologue of Ananias, but I did not collate it.

ἐθεράπευσεν ἀπὸ κακῶν πράξεων. Ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Πιλάτος λέγει αὐτοῖς Ποῶν κακῶν πράξεων ; λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· Γόης ἐστὶν καὶ ἐν Βεελζεβοὺλ ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων ἐκβάλλει τὰ δαιμόνια καὶ πάντα αὐτῷ ὑποτάσσεται· λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Πιλάτος· τοῦτο οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐν πνεύματι ἀκαθάρτῳ ἐκβάλλειν τὰ δαιμόνια, ἀλλ' ἐν θεῷ.

2. Λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τῷ Πιλάτῳ, Ἀξιούμεν τὸ ὑμέτερον μέγεθος ὥστε αὐτὸν παραστήναι τῷ βήματι ἡμῶν καὶ ἀκοῦσαι αὐτόν. Καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος ὁ Πιλάτος τοὺς Ἰουδαίους λέγει, Δύναμαι ἐγὼ ἡγεμῶν ὧν βασιλέα ἐξετάσαι ; λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· Ἡμεῖς οὐ λέγομεν βασιλέα αὐτὸν εἶναι ἀλλ' οὗτος ἑαυτὸν λέγει. Προσκαλεσάμενος δὲ ὁ Πιλάτος κούρσουρα λέγει αὐτῷ, Μετὰ ἐπιεικειᾶς ἀχθήτω ὁ Ἰησοῦς. Ἐξελθὼν οὖν ὁ κούρσωρ καὶ ἐπιγνοὺς αὐτὸν προσεκύνησεν, καὶ λαβὼν τὸ καθάπλωμα τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ ἤπλωσεν χαμαὶ καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ, Κύριε ὧδε περιπάτησον καὶ ἐπίβηθι ὅτι ὁ ἡγεμῶν σε καλεῖ. Ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ὃ ἐποίησεν ὁ κούρσωρ κατέκραζαν τοῦ Πιλάτου λέγοντες, Διὰ τί μὴ ὑπὸ πραίκωνος εἰσελθεῖν ἀλλ' ὑπὸ κούρσουρος, καὶ γὰρ ὁ κούρσωρ θεασάμενος αὐτὸν προσεκύνησε καὶ τὸ φακεόλιον ὃ εἶχεν ἤπλωσε χαμαὶ καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ Κύριε ἐπίβηθι ὅτι ὁ ἡγεμῶν σε καλεῖ.

3. Λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος τῷ κούρσουρι Τί τοῦτο ἐποίησας ; λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ κούρσωρ, Ὅτε με ἀπέστειλας εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εἶδον αὐτὸν καθήμενον ἐπὶ ὄνου καὶ οἱ παῖδες τῶν Ἑβραίων Ἑβραῖστὶ ἔκραζον κλάδους κατέχοντες ἐν ταῖς χερσίν, ἄλλοι δὲ ἐστρώννουν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν λέγοντες Σῶσον δὴ ὁ ἐν ὑψίστοις, εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου.

4. Καὶ κράζουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι λέγοντες, Οἱ μὲν παῖδες τῶν Ἑβραίων Ἑβραῖστὶ ἔκραζον σὺ δὲ πόθεν γινώσκεις Ἑβραῖστὶ Ἑλλην ὦν ; λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ κούρσωρ, Ἡρώτησά τινα τῶν Ἰουδαίων, τί ἐστὶν ὃ κράζουσιν Ἑβραῖστὶ οἱ παῖδες ; λέγουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, Ὡσαννά· λέγει δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁ Πιλάτος Καὶ τὸ ὦσαννὰ τί ἐρμηνεύεται ; λέγουσιν αὐτῷ Σῶσον δὴ· λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Πιλάτος Εἰ ὑμεῖς μαρτυρεῖτε τὰς φωνὰς τὰς παρὰ τῶν παιδῶν λεχθείσας, τί ἡμαρτεν ὁ κούρσωρ ; οἱ δὲ ἐσιώπων. Λέγει ὁ ἡγεμῶν τῷ κούρσουρι, Ἐξελθε καὶ οἷφ' βούλει τρόπῳ εἰσάγαγε αὐτόν· ἐξελθὼν δὲ ὁ κούρσωρ ἐποίησεν τῷ σχήματι τῷ πρώτῳ ἀπλώσας τὸ φακεόλιον αὐτοῦ καὶ λέγει τῷ Ἰησοῦ Κύριε, ὧδε ἐπίβηθι καὶ εἰσελθε ὅτι ὁ ἡγεμῶν σε καλεῖ.



5. Εἰσελθόντος δὲ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ τῶν σιγνοφόρων κατεχόντων τὰς προτομάς, ἐκάμφθησαν ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν αἱ προτομαὶ τῶν σίγνων καὶ προσεκύνησαν τῷ Ἰησοῦ· ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τὸ σχῆμα τῶν σίγνων πῶς ἐκάμφθησαν καὶ προσεκύνησαν αὐτῷ, ἔμμενῶς ἔκραζον κατὰ τῶν σιγνοφόρων, ἐμβριμώμενος δὲ ὁ Πιλάτος κατὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων λέγει αὐτοῖς, Τί κράζετε κατὰ τῶν σιγνοφόρων ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἔκαμψαν αὐτὰς τῷ προσκυνῆσαι; λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι πρὸς Πιλάτον Ἡμεῖς εἶδομεν πῶς ἐκάμφθησαν αἱ προτομαὶ ὑπὸ τῶν σιγνοφόρων καὶ προσεκύνησαν αὐτῷ. προσκαλεσάμενος δὲ ὁ Πιλάτος τοὺς σιγνοφόρους λέγει αὐτοῖς, Τί τοῦτο ἐποιήσατε; λέγουσιν τῷ Πιλάτῳ, Ἡμεῖς ἄνδρες Ἑλληνισταὶ ἐσμεν καὶ ἱερόδουλοι καὶ πῶς εἶχαμεν προσκυνῆσαι αὐτῷ; καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς κατέχοντες τὰς προτομάς αὐταὶ ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐκάμφθησαν καὶ προσεκύνησαν αὐτῷ.

6. Λέγει τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ὁ Πιλάτος Ἐκλέξασθε ὑμεῖς ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἄνδρας δυνατοὺς ἐν ἰσχύϊ καὶ κατασχέτωσαν τὰ σίγνα καὶ ἰδωμεν εἰ ἑαυτοῖς κάμπτονται ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν καὶ προσκυνοῦσι. ἐπιλεξάμενοι δὲ οἱ τριβούνιοι ἄνδρας ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ δώδεκα ἐν ἰσχύϊ δυνατοὺς δέδωκαν αὐτοὺς κατασχεῖν τὰς προτομάς καὶ στήναι ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ ἡγεμόνος. καὶ λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος τῷ κούρσουρι Ἐκβαλε τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἔξωθεν τοῦ πραιτωρίου καὶ εἰσάγαγε αὐτὸν πάλιν ὅφ' βούλει τρόπῳ. Ἐξῆλθε δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἔξω τοῦ πραιτωρίου σὺν τῷ κούρσουρι. Προσκαλεσάμενος δὲ ὁ Πιλάτος τοὺς κατέχοντας τὰς προτομάς τὸ πρότερον λέγει αὐτοῖς, ὁμόσας κατὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὅτι Ἐὰν οὐ καμψθῶσιν αἱ προτομαὶ τῶν σίγνων εἰσελθόντος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ἀποτεμῶ τὰς κεφαλὰς ὑμῶν, ἐκέλευσε δὲ τῷ κούρσωρι τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐκ δευτέρου· καὶ πολλὰ παρεκάλεσεν ὁ κούρσωρ ἵνα ἐπιβῇ τὸ φακεόλιον αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἐπέβη καὶ εἰσῆλθεν, εἰσελθόντος δὲ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐκάμφθησαν πάλιν ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν τὰ σίγνα καὶ προσεκύνησαν τῷ Ἰησοῦ.

\* \* \* \* \*

III. I. Θυμὸς οὖν πλησθεὶς ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ πραιτωρίου καὶ λέγει πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, Μάρτυρα ἔχω τὸν ἥλιον ὅτι οὐδεμίαν αἰτίαν εὐρίσκω ἐν αὐτῷ. Ἀποκριθέντες δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι εἶπον τῷ Πιλάτῳ Εἰ μὴ ἦν οὗτος κακοποιὸς οὐκ ἂν σοι παρεδώκαμεν αὐτόν· λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Πιλάτος, Λάβετε αὐτὸν ὑμεῖς καὶ κατὰ τὸν νόμον

ὕμῶν κρίνατε αὐτόν· λέγουσιν αὐτῷ, Ἡμῖν οὐκ ἔξεστιν ἀποκτεῖναι οὐδένα· λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Πιλάτος, Ὑμῖν εἶπεν ὁ Θεὸς μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι, ἀλλ' ἐμοί;

2. Καὶ εἰσῆλθεν μετ' ὀργῆς εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος τὸν Ἰησοῦν κατ' ἰδίαν λέγει αὐτῷ, Τί οὗτοί σου καταμαρτυροῦσι; ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἐσιώπα· λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Πιλάτος Μήτι ἐγὼ Ἰουδαῖός εἰμι; τὸ ἔθνος τὸ σὸν καὶ πᾶν τὸ πρεσβυτέριον παρέδωκάν σε ἐμοί, τί ἐποίησας; ἀπεκρίθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Ἡ βασιλεία ἡ ἐμὴ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου· εἰ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου ἦν ἡ βασιλεία ἡ ἐμὴ οἱ ὑπηρεταὶ οἱ ἐμοὶ ἡγωνίζοντο ἄν ἴνα μὴ παραδοθῶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις· νῦν δὲ ἡ βασιλεία ἡ ἐμὴ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐντεῦθεν. λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Πιλάτος Οὐκοῦν βασιλεὺς εἶ σύ; ἀπεκρίνατο ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Σὺ λέγεις ὅτι βασιλεὺς εἰμι ἐγώ, ἐγὼ εἰς τοῦτο γεγέννημαι καὶ εἰς τοῦτο ἐλήλυθα εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἵνα πᾶς ὁ ὢν ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀκοῇ μου τῆς φωνῆς· λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Πιλάτος. Τί ἐστιν ἀλήθεια; ἐξ οὐρανοῦ; ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀλήθεια οὐκ ἔστιν· λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς Ὅρα, οἱ τὴν ἀλήθειαν λέγοντες πῶς κρίνονται ἀπὸ τῶν ἐχόντων τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

IV. 1. Καταλιπὼν δὲ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ὁ Πιλάτος ἐξῆλθεν ἔξω τοῦ πραιτωρίου πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς, Ἴδε ἐγὼ οὐδεμίαν αἰτίαν εὗρίσκω ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τούτῳ· λέγουσιν αὐτῷ, Οὗτος εἶπεν δύνamai καταλῦσαι τὸν ναὸν τούτου καὶ διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἐγεῖραι αὐτόν· λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Πιλάτος, Ποῖον ναόν; λέγουσιν αὐτῷ, Ὁν ᾠκοδόμησεν Σολομὼν ἐν τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἐξ ἑτεσι καὶ οὗτος λέγει διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἐγεῖραι αὐτόν; λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Πιλάτος, Ἀθῶός εἰμι ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ δικαίου τούτου, ὑμεῖς ὄψεσθε· λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, Τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τέκνα ἡμῶν.

2. Προσκαλεσάμενος (?) δὲ ὁ Πιλάτος τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς, Μὴ οὕτως λάθρα ποιήσατε, οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄξιον θανάτου κατηγορεῖτε αὐτοῦ, ἡ γὰρ κατηγορία ὑμῶν περὶ θεραπείας καὶ βεβηλώσεως σαββάτου ἐστίν· λέγουσιν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς πρὸς τὸν ἡγεμόνα, Κατὰ Καίσαρος ἑάν τις βλασφημήσῃ, ἄξιος θανάτου ἐστίν, οὗτος κατὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐβλασφήμησε.

3. Προσέταξε δὲ ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἐξελθεῖν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος τὸν Ἰησοῦν λέγει αὐτῷ· Τί ποιήσω σε; λέγει ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῷ Πιλάτῳ, Οὕτως ἐδόθη· λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος Πῶς ἐδόθη; λέγει ὁ

Ἰησοῦς, Μωυσῆς καὶ οἱ προφῆται προεκήρυξαν περὶ τοῦ θανάτου μου καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως· παριστορήσαντες δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ ἀκούσαντες λέγουσι τῷ Πιλάτῳ, Τί πλείον θέλεις καὶ μείζον τῆς βλασφημίας ταύτης ἀκοῦσαι; λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Πιλάτος, Εἰ οὗτος ὁ λόγος βλάσφημός ἐστιν, περὶ τῆς βλασφημίας ταύτης λάβετε αὐτὸν ὑμεῖς καὶ ἀπαγάγετε εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν ὑμῶν καὶ κρίνατε αὐτόν· λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τῷ Πιλάτῳ, Ὁ νόμος ἔχει ὅτι ἀνθρώπος εἰς ἀνθρώπον ἐὰν ἁμαρτήσῃ ἄξιός ἐστιν λαμβάνειν τεσσαράκοντα παρὰ μίαν, ὁ δὲ εἰς Θεὸν βλασφημῶν λιθοβολία λιθοβοληθήσεται.

4. Λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Πιλάτος, Λάβετε οὖν αὐτὸν ὑμεῖς καὶ οἷψ βούλεσθε τρόπῳ ἀμύνασθε αὐτόν· λέγουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, Ἡμεῖς βουλόμεθα ἵνα σταυρωθῇ· λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος Οὐκ ἐστὶν ἄξιος σταυρωθῆναι.

5. Περιβλεψάμενος δὲ ὁ ἡγεμὼν εἰς τοὺς περιεστῶτας ὄχλους θεωρεῖ τινας δακρύνοντας τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς, Οὐ πάν τὸ πλῆθος θέλει αὐτὸν ἀποθανεῖν· λέγουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τοῦ λαοῦ Διὰ τοῦτο ἤλθαμεν ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος ἵνα ἀποθάνῃ, ἐαυτὸν νιδὼν Θεοῦ καὶ βασιλέα λέγει.

V. 1. Νικοδήμους ἀρχων τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔστη ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ Πιλάτου λέγων, Ἀξιὼ τὸ ὑμέτερον κράτος εὐσεβῆ τοῦ μακροθυμεῖν ἀκοῦσαι μου· λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος, Εἰπέ δὲ βούλει· λέγει ὁ Νικοδήμους, Εἶπον τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσι καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις καὶ λευταῖς καὶ παντὶ τῷ λαῷ ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ, Τί συζητεῖτε μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τούτου, ὅτι ὁ ἀνθρώπος οὗτος σημεῖα καὶ παράδοξα ἐποίησε καὶ ποιεῖ ἃ οὐδεὶς ἐποίησεν, ἄφετε οὖν αὐτὸν καὶ μὴ βούλεσθέ τι πονηρὸν κατ' αὐτοῦ. εἰ ἐκ Θεοῦ ἐστι τὰ σημεῖα ἃ ποιεῖ σταθήσονται· καὶ γὰρ Μωυσῆς ἀποσταλὴς παρὰ Θεοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πολλὰ σημεῖα ἐποίησε ἃ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ Θεὸς ποιῆσαι ἔμπροσθεν Φαραὼ βασιλέως Αἰγύπτου, καὶ ἦσαν ἐκεῖ θεράποντες ἄνδρες Φαραὼ καὶ αὐτοὶ σημεῖα ἃ ἐποίησεν Μωυσῆς ἐποίησαν ἄλλ' οὐχ ὅλα, καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὰ σημεῖα ἃ ἐποίησαν οὐκ ἦσαν ἀπὸ Θεοῦ ἀπόλονται καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ πάντες οἱ πιστεύοντες αὐτοῖς· καὶ νῦν ἄφετε τὸν ἀνθρώπον τούτον, οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἄξιος θανάτου.

2. Λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τῷ Νικοδήμῳ, Σὺ μαθητὴς αὐτοῦ ἐγένου καὶ τὸν λόγον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ποιεῖς; λέγει πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ Νικοδήμους,

Μὴ καὶ ὁ ἡγεμὼν μαθητῆς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο καὶ τὸν λόγον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ποιεῖ; οὐ κατέστησεν αὐτὸν Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀξιώματος τούτου; ἦσαν δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐμβριμώμενοι καὶ τρίζοντες τοὺς ὀδόντας αὐτῶν κατὰ τοῦ Νικοδήμου, λέγει πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ Πιλάτος, Τί τρίζετε τοὺς ὀδόντας ὑμῶν κατὰ τούτου ἀκούσαντες παρ' αὐτοῦ; λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τῷ Νικοδήμῳ, Τὴν ἀλήθειαν αὐτοῦ λάβης καὶ τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ· λέγει αὐτοῖς Νικόδημος, Ἀμήν, ἀμήν, λάβω καθὼς εἶπατε.

**VI. 1.** Τίς δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ὄχλου τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐλθὼν ἔμπροσθεν ἤξιον εἰπεῖν λόγον· λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Πιλάτος, Εἴ τι θέλεις εἰπέ· ὁ δὲ μετὰ δακρύων ἔλεγεν, Τριάκοντα ὀκτὼ ἔτη ἐπὶ κλίνης κατακείμενος ἤμην καὶ ἐν ὁδῷ πολλῇ ὑπῆρχον καὶ ἐλθόντος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ πολλοὶ δαιμονιζόμενοι καὶ ποικίλαις νόσοις κατακείμενοι ἐθεραπεύθησαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ τινες νεανίσκοι κατελεήσαντές με ἐβάστασάν με μετὰ τῆς κλίνης καὶ ἀπήγαγόν με πρὸς αὐτόν· καὶ ἰδὼν με ὁ Ἰησοὺς ἐσπλαγχνίσθη καὶ λόγῳ μόνῳ αὐτός με ἐθεράπευσεν εἰπὼν Ἄρον τὸ κράββατόν σου καὶ περιπάτει. οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι εἶπον πρὸς τὸν Πιλάτον, Ἀξιούμεν τὸ ὑμέτερον μέγεθος καλεῖν ποῖαν ἡμέραν ἐθεράπευσεν αὐτόν· ὁ δὲ ἔφη Σάββατον εἶναι καὶ πολλοὺς δαιμονιζομένους καὶ ποικίλαις νόσοις συνεχομένους τῷ λόγῳ αὐτοῦ ἐθεράπευσεν.

2. Ἄλλος δὲ μετὰ δακρύων εἶπε τῷ Πιλάτῳ Ἐγὼ τυφλὸς ἐγεννήμην, φωνῆς μὲν ἀκούων (?) πρόσωπον δὲ οὐκ ἔβλεπον, καὶ παράγοντος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐφώνησα φωνῇ μεγάλῃ λέγων Ἐλέησόν με, υἱὲ Δαυίδ· καὶ ἐλεήσας με ἐπέθηκε τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς μου καὶ εὐθέως ἀνέβλεψα. Ἄλλος κωφὸς εἶπε Ἐγὼ ἤμην μὴ λαλῶν καὶ ἡψατό μου τῆς γλώσσης καὶ παραχρῆμα ἰάθην. Ἄλλος εἶπεν Ἐγὼ κυρτὸς ἤμην καὶ λόγῳ ὤρθωσέ με.

**VII.** Γυνὴ δὲ τις ἀπὸ μακρόθεν ἐβόησεν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ λέγουσα, Καὶ ὡς αἱμορροοῦσα ἤμην καὶ ἡψάμην τοῦ κρασπέδου τοῦ ἱματίου αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔσθη ἡ ῥύσις τοῦ αἵματος ἡ δι' ἑτῶν δώδεκα· λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι Ἡμεῖς νόμον ἔχομεν μὴ ὑπάγειν γυναῖκα εἰς μαρτυρίαν.

**VIII.** Ἄλλοι δὲ πολλοὶ ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν Ἰουδαίων μετὰ δακρύων ἐβόων, Οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος προφήτης ἐστὶν καὶ τὰ δαιμόνια αὐτῷ ὑποτάσσονται καὶ πᾶν πάθος· λέγει ὁ Πιλάτος πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους τοὺς εἰπόντας καὶ τὰ δαιμόνια αὐτῷ ὑποτάσσονται καὶ πᾶν πάθος,

Διατί καὶ οἱ διδάσκαλοι ὑμῶν οὐκ ὑπετάγησαν αὐτῷ; αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν Ἡμεῖς οἶδαμεν ὅτι καὶ τὸν Λάζαρον ἤγειρεν τετραήμερον ἐκ τοῦ μνημεῖου· ἔμφοβος δὲ γενόμενος ὁ Πιλάτος λέγει πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰουδαίων, Τί θέλετε ἐκχέαι αἷμα ἀθῶον ἀδικῶς;

ΙΧ. 1. Καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος κατ' ἰδίαν Νικόδημον καὶ τοὺς δώδεκα ἄνδρας τοὺς εἰπόντας μὴ γεγεννησθαι αὐτὸν ἐκ πορνείας φησί, Τί ποιήσω ὅτι μεγάλη διάστασις γίνεται ἐν τῷ λαῷ; οἱ δὲ λέγουσιν, Ἡμεῖς οὐκ οἶδαμεν, αὐτοὶ ὄψονται. Προσκαλεσάμενος πάλιν ὁ Πιλάτος ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰουδαίων λέγει αὐτοῖς, Οἴδατε ὅτι ἡ συνήθεια ὑμῖν ἐστίν κατὰ ἑορτὴν τῶν ἁγίων ἓνα ἀπολύεσθαι τῶν δεσμιῶν· ἔχω οὖν δέσμιον κατὰδικον τὸν λεγόμενον Βαραββᾶν καὶ τοῦτον ἐστῶτα κατενώπιον ὑμῶν τὸν λεγόμενον Χριστὸν, εἰς ὃν οὐδεμίαν αἰτίαν εὗρίσκω ἐν αὐτῷ, ποῖον οὖν θέλετε ἀπολύσω ὑμῖν; οἱ δὲ ᾗτήσαντο τὸν Βαραββᾶν τὸν δὲ Ἰησοῦν ἔλεγον Σταυρωθήτω· ἕτεροι τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔλεγον Οὐκ εἰ φίλος τοῦ Καίσαρος ἔαν τοῦτον οὐ σταυρώσῃς ὅτι εἶπεν ἑαυτὸν υἱὸν Θεοῦ καὶ βασιλέα· τάχα τοῦτον εἶναι θέλεις βασιλέα καὶ οὐ Καίσαρα.

2. Ὁργισθεὶς δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁ Πιλάτος λέγει πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, Ἀεὶ τὸ ἔθνος ὑμῶν στασιασταὶ εἰσιν, καὶ τοῖς εὐεργέταις ὑμῶν ἀντιλέγετε· λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, Ποίοις εὐεργέταις; λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Πιλάτος, Ὁ Θεὸς ὑμῶν ἀπὸ δουλείας σκληρᾶς ἐρρύσατο ὑμᾶς ἐξαγαγὼν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης ὡς διὰ ξηρᾶς διήγαγε, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ διέθρεψεν ὑμᾶς, μανῶ καὶ ὀρτυγομήτραν ἔδωκεν ὑμῖν, καὶ ἐκ πέτρας ὕδωρ ἐπότισεν ὑμᾶς καὶ νόμον ἔδωκεν ὑμῖν· ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐστήσασθε μόσχον χωνευτὸν καὶ παρωξύνετε τὸν Θεὸν ὑμῶν καὶ ἐζήτησεν ἀπολέσαι ὑμᾶς, καὶ λιτανεύσας Μωυσῆς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν εἰσηκούσθη καὶ οὐκέτι ἐθανατώθητε, καὶ νῦν ὑμεῖς καταγγέλλετε μου, ὅτι ἐγὼ μισῶ τὸν βασιλέα.

3. Πλησθεὶς οὖν ὀργῆς ὁ Πιλάτος ἀναστὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος αὐτοῦ ἐζήτησεν ἐξελεῖν· λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, Ἡμεῖς βασιλέα οἶδαμεν τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ οὐ τὸν Ἰησοῦν, καὶ γὰρ οἱ μάγοι δῶρα προσήνεγκαν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ὡς βασιλεῖ καὶ Ἡρώδης ἀκούσας παρὰ τῶν μάγων ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἐγεννήθη ἐζήτησεν αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι. γυνὸς δὲ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ Μαρία λαβόντες αὐτὸν ἔφυγον εἰς Αἴγυπτον· καὶ ἀκούσας Ἡρώδης ἔπεμψε καὶ ἀνέειλε τοὺς παῖδας τῶν Ἑβραίων τοὺς γεννηθέντας ἐν Βηθλεὲμ.

4. Καὶ ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἐφοβήθη σφόδρα καὶ κατεσεύσθη τῇ χειρὶ τοὺς ὄχλους τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὅτι ἔκραζον, καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς, Οὗτός ἐστιν ὃν ἐζήτηι Ἡρώδης ; λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, Οὗτός ἐστιν· ὁ οὖν Πιλάτος λαβὼν ὕδωρ ἀπενίψατο τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ ἀπέναντι τοῦ ἡλίου λέγων, Ἀθῶός εἰμι ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ δικαίου τούτου· ὑμεῖς ὄψεσθε· πάλιν λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, Τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τέκνα ἡμῶν.

5. Ἐκέλευσε δὲ ὁ Πιλάτος ἐλकुσθῆναι τὸν βηλὸν οὗ ἐκαθέζετο.

Ἀπόφασις κατὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ.

Τὸ ἔθνος τὸ σὺν κατέπλεξέ σε ὡς βασιλέα· διὰ τοῦτο ἀπεφηνάμην κατὰ σοῦ πρῶτον φραγελλοῦσθαι διὰ τὸν θεσμόν τῶν εὐσεβῶν βασιλέων, καὶ τότε ἀναρτᾶσθαι ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ ἐν τῷ κήπῳ. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς δύο κακούργους σὺν αὐτῷ Γέστην καὶ Δυσμᾶν.

Χ. 1. Λαβόντες δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐξέβαλον αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ πραιτωρίου καὶ τοὺς κακούργους σὺν αὐτῷ, καὶ ὅτε ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον ἐξέδυσαν αὐτὸν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ καὶ περιέζωσαν αὐτὸν λέντιον καὶ στέφανον ἐξ ἀκανθῶν περιέθηκαν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς δύο κακούργους ἐκρέμασαν Γέστην ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ Δυσμᾶν ἐξ εὐωνύμων, ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἔλεγε, Πάτερ ἄφες αὐτοῖς, σὺ γὰρ οἶδας τί ποιοῦσιν· καὶ διμερίσαντο τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ οἱ στρατιῶται, βάλλοντες κλήρους· εἰστήκει δὲ ὁ λαὸς θεωρῶν αὐτόν, καὶ ἐξεμυκτήριζον αὐτὸν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες λέγοντες, Ἄλλους ἐσώσας, σεαυτὸν οὐ δύνασαι σῶσαι, εἰ υἱὸς ἐστιν τοῦ Θεοῦ οὗτος καταβάτω ἀπὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ. ἐνέπαιζον δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ στρατιῶται προσέφερον δὲ ὄξος λέγοντες, Εἰ σὺ εἶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων σῶσον σεαυτόν. Ἐκέλευσε δὲ ὁ Πιλάτος μετὰ τὴν ἀπόφασιν εἰς τίτλον ἐπιγραφῆναι τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτοῦ γράμμασι ῥωμαϊκοῖς ἐβραϊκοῖς καὶ ἑλληνικοῖς, καθὼς εἶπαν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἐστὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

2. Εἰς δὲ τῶν κρεμασθέντων κακούργων ὀνόματι Δυσμᾶν λέγει πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν, Εἰ σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστὸς σῶσον σεαυτὸν καὶ ἡμᾶς· ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ ἕτερος ᾧ ὄνομα Γέστην ἐπετίμα αὐτῷ λέγων· Οὐδὲν φοβῆσαι τὸν Θεὸν ὅτι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ κρίματι εἶ ; καὶ ἡμεῖς μὲν ἄξια ὧν ἐπράξαμεν ἀπολαμβάνομεν, οὗτος δὲ οὐδὲν κακὸν

ἐπραξεν· καὶ ἔλεγε τῷ Ἰησοῦ, Μνήσθητί μου Κύριε ὅταν ἔλθῃς ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου· εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς Ἀμήν, ἀμήν, λέγω σοι ὅτι σήμερον μετ' ἐμοῦ ἔσῃ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ.

**XI.** 1. Ἦν δὲ ὥρα ὥσεί ἕκτη καὶ σκότος ἐγένετο ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν γῆν ἕως ὥρας ἐνάτης, σκοτισθέντος δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου ἐσχίσθη τὸ καταπέτασμα τοῦ ναοῦ μέσον ἀπὸ ἄνωθεν ἕως κάτω· καὶ φωνήσας φωνῇ μεγάλῃ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπε Βιαδὰ γεφί· κυθρωσί· ὃ ἐρμηνεύεται Εἰς χεῖρας σου παρατίθιμι τὸ πνεῦμά μου· καὶ τοῦτο εἰπὼν ἐξέπνευσε. Ἰδὼν τοίνυν ὁ ἐκατόνταρχος τὸν σεισμόν καὶ τὸ γενόμενον ἐδόξασε τὸν Θεὸν λέγων ὅτι Ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος δίκαιος ἦν, καὶ πάντες οἱ θεωρήσαντες τὰ σημεῖα τύπτοντες ἑαυτῶν τὰ στήθη ὑπέστρεψον εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν.

2. Ὁ δὲ ἐκατόνταρχος ἀνήγγειλε τῷ ἡγεμόνι πάντα τὰ γενόμενα· ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Πιλάτος καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἐλυπήθησαν ταῦτα σφόδρα καὶ οὐκ ἔφαγον οὐδὲ ἔπιον τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην· μετακαλεσάμενος δὲ ὁ Πιλάτος τοὺς Ἰουδαίους εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Θεωρεῖτε τὰ γενόμενα ; λέγουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, Ἐκλειψίς ἐστι τοῦ ἡλίου, κατὰ τὸ εἰωθός.

3. Εἰσῆλθισαν δὲ οἱ γνωστοὶ αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ μακρόθεν, καὶ γυναῖκες αἱ συνακολουθήσασαι αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας θεωροῦσαι ταῦτα· καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀνὴρ τις ὀνόματι Ἰωσήφ βουλευτῆς ὑπάρχων ἀνὴρ δίκαιος καὶ ἀγαθὸς οὐκ ἦν συγκαταθέμενος τῇ βουλῇ αὐτῶν καὶ τῇ πράξει τῇ πονηρᾷ, ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθείας μιᾶς πόλεως τῆς Ἰουδαίας, ὃς προσεδέχετο καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὗτος προσελθὼν τῷ Πιλάτῳ ᾗτήσατο τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ καθελὼν αὐτὸ ἐνετύλιξεν ἐν σινδόνι καθαρᾷ καὶ ἔθηκεν αὐτὸ ἐν μνημείῳ λαξευτῷ, ἐν ᾧ οὐκ ἦν οὐδεὶς πώποτε τεθεῖς.

**XII.** 1. Ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ὅτι τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ᾗτήσατο ὁ Ἰωσήφ, ἐζήτουν αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς δώδεκα τοὺς εἰπόντας μὴ γεγεννηθῆσαι ἐκ πορνείας καὶ τὸν Νικόδημον καὶ ἄλλους ἐτέρους πολλούς, οἵτινες ἔστησαν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ Πιλάτου καὶ μετὰ δακρύων διηγήσαντο τὰ θαυμάσια αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐβούλοντο ἀνελεῖν· πάντων δὲ ἀποκρυβέντων ὁ Νικόδημος ὥφθη αὐτοῖς μόνος, ὅτι οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ ἄρχων τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὑπῆρχε, καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ Σὺ πῶς εἰσῆλθες εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν ; ὅτι συνεστιάτωρ αὐτοῦ εἶ καὶ τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ μετὰ σοῦ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι αἰῶνι· λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ

Νικόδημος, Ἀμὴν· γένοιτό μοι καθὼς εἶπατε· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἰωσήφ ἐμφανισθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, Τί ὅτι ἐλυπήθητε κατ' ἐμοῦ ματαίως, ὅτι ἤτησάμην τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ ἐνετύλιξα αὐτὸ σινδόνι καὶ τέθεικα αὐτὸ ἐν τῷ καινῷ μου μνημείῳ καὶ λίθον μέγαν προσκυλίσας τῇ θύρᾳ τοῦ σπηλαίου καὶ ἀπῆλθον ; καὶ οὐ καλῶς ἐπράξατε κατὰ τοῦ δικαίου, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγῃ αὐτοῦ ὑπεβάλλετε μὴ μεταμεληθέντες. Κρατήσαντες δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τὸν Ἰωσήφ ἐκέλευσαν αὐτὸν ἀσφαλῶς τηρεῖσθαι, καὶ λέγουσιν πρὸς τὸν Ἰωσήφ, Γίνωσκε ὅτι ἡ ὥρα οὐκ ἀπαιτεῖ πρᾶξαι τι κατὰ σοῦ ὅτι σάββατον διαφαίνει, καὶ γίνωσκε ὅτι ταφῆς οὐ καταξιοθήσῃ, ἀλλ' ἔσονται αἱ σάρκες βρῶμα τοῖς πετεινοῖς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τοῖς θηρίοις τῆς γῆς· ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἰωσήφ λέγει αὐτοῖς, Οὗτος ὁ λόγος τοῦ τυράννου ἐστὶ Γολιάθ, ὃς ὠνείδισεν τὸν Θεὸν ζῶντα καὶ τὸν ἄγιον Δαυὶδ, εἶπεν γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς Ἐμοὶ ἐκδίκησις καὶ γὰρ ἀνταποδώσω, λέγει Κύριος, καὶ νῦν ὁ ἀκρόβυστος τῇ σαρκὶ καὶ περιτεμνόμενος τῇ καρδίᾳ λαβὼν ὕδωρ ἀπενύψατο τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ ἀπέναντι τοῦ ἡλίου λέγων Ἀθῶός εἰμι ἐγὼ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ δικαίου τούτου· ὑμεῖς ὀψεσθε· καὶ ἀπεκρίθητε αὐτῷ λέγοντες Τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τέκνα ἡμῶν, καὶ νῦν φοβοῦμαι, μήποτε φθάσει ἡ ὀργὴ Κυρίου ἐπὶ τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν ὡς εἶπατε· ἀκούσαντες δὲ τοὺς λόγους τούτους ἐπικράνθησαν κατὰ τὸν Ἰωσήφ σφόδρα τῇ ψυχῇ, καὶ ἐπιλαβόμενοι ἐνέκλεισαν εἰς οἶκον φυλακῆς καὶ ἐσφραγίσαντο τὴν θύραν τῷ δακτυλιδίῳ τοῦ Καϊαφᾶ.

2. Τῷ δὲ ἐρχομένῳ σαββάτῳ ὥρισαν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς τοῦ εὐρεθῆναι πάντας ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ τῇ μιᾷ τοῦ σαββάτου, καὶ συναθροίσαντες οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ ἐβουλευσάντο ποίῳ θανάτῳ ἀποκτείνωσιν τὸν Ἰωσήφ, καὶ ἐκέλευσαν μετὰ ἀτιμίας ἀχθῆναι αὐτόν· ἀνοίξαντες δὲ τὰς θύρας τῆς φυλακῆς οὐχ εὗρον αὐτόν, καὶ ἐξέστη πᾶς ὁ λαός, λέγοντες ὅτι Τὰς σφραγίδας εὗρομεν σῶας καὶ τὴν κλεῖδα ἔσχεν ὁ Καϊαφᾶς· καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ οὐκέτι ἐτόλμων ἐπιβαλεῖν τὰς χεῖρας.



## VI. A FRAGMENT OF THE ACTA THOMAE.

IN his edition of the Acts of Thomas in *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* Tischendorf quotes the variants of five MSS. which he calls ABCDE, and to these M. Bonnet has added PQRS. The text which is now printed is that of another fragment, which I shall call T, found in cod. 476 in the library of Ivéron, a paper MS. of fourteenth century. The negatives of the photographs of T which I used will be found in the Bodleian Library under the Pressmark MS. Gr. th. f. 8, and are numbered 1-7.

Mr. Burkitt has pointed out to me that T belongs to the same family as B (Paris, Nat. Gr. 1468). It is impossible to say without collating B exactly how close the connexion may be, as Tischendorf does not quote B fully but only in select and important passages. But the following readings are sufficient to demonstrate the general connexion of B and T, and to help any one who may wish accurately to determine their relations I have followed the photographs exactly in matters of spelling and accentuation.

(α) 12. εἰς ἀπαλλαγὴν τῆς ῥυπαρᾶς κοινωνίας ταύτης γίνεσθε ναοὶ ἅγιοι καθαροὶ ἀπαλλαγέντες πλήξεων καὶ ὀδυνῶν φανεράων τε καὶ ἀφανῶν καὶ φροντίδας οὐ περιθήσεσθε βίου καὶ τέκνων, ὧν τὸ τέλος ἀπώλεια ὑπάρχει.—ACPQ with small variations.

εἰς τὴν τηρίσητε ἑαυτοὺς ἀμέμπτους τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ βίου τούτου ἔσεσθε αἰεὶ [B ναοὶ] ἅγιοι ῥυσθέντες ἀπὸ πάσης φθορᾶς φανεράων τε καὶ ἑναποκρύφου καὶ φροντίδων ἀνωφελῶν καὶ ἐπιβλαβῶν.—BT, and the closeness of agreement is equally marked for several more lines.

(β) 16. καὶ ἀπελθόντες κατεμίγησαν αὐτῷ—ACEPQ.

καὶ ἀπελθόντες ἔλαβον παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸ λουτρὸν τῆς χάριτος ἐν ὀνόματι πατρὸς κ.τ.λ.—BT.

(γ) 24. Instead of the account which begins in codd. ACEPQ καὶ εὐθέως πέμψας and continues to the end of the story, covering four pages in M. Bonnet's edition, BT have

καὶ πέμψας ἐξέβαλα τὸν θωμᾶν κ.τ.λ. finishing the whole narrative in a few lines.

These examples might be added to at length, and prove a close relationship between B and T. In the absence of a complete collation of B it is impossible to say more definitely what the relationship is. The next scholar who deals with the text of the *Acta Thomae* will no doubt be able to throw light both on this point and on the relationship which the ordinary<sup>1</sup> texts and this text bear to the Syriac Acts.

### TEXT.

11. . . . ἀγάγη. Καὶ εἶδεν ὅμοιον τοῦ Θωμᾶ ἐστῶτα καὶ ὁμιλοῦντα τὴν νύμφην. καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ, οὐχὶ πρῶτος πάντων ἐξήλθες; πῶς οὖν εὐρέθεις ὧδε; καὶ ὁ Κύριος εἶπεν αὐτῷ, Οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐγὼ Θωμᾶς, ἀδελφὸς δὲ αὐτοῦ εἰμι, καὶ ἐκάθισεν ὁ Κύριος ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης, καὶ ἤρξατο διδάσκειν αὐτοὺς καὶ λέγειν,

12. Μνημονεύσατε τέκνα μου ἅπερ ὁ ἀδελφός μου ἐλάλησεν μεθ' ὑμῶν καὶ τίνι ὑμᾶς παρέθετο, καὶ τοῦτω γινώτε, ὅτι ἐὰν τηρήσετε ἑαυτοὺς ἀμέμπτους τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ βίου τούτου, ἔσεσθαι αἱ ἅγιοι ῥυσθέντες ἀπὸ πάσης φθορᾶς, φανερᾶς τε καὶ ἑναποκρύφου, καὶ φροντίζων ἀνοφελῶν καὶ ἐπιβλαβῶν, ἐὰν γὰρ γένωνται ὑμῖν παιδία ἕνεκεν αὐτῶν μέλλεται τύπτειν τινὰς καὶ ἀρπάζειν ὀρφανούς καὶ καταπονεῖν χηρῶν καὶ ταῦτα ποιοῦντες ὑποβάλλετε αὐτοὺς εἰς τιμωρίας κακίστας· ἀλλὰ μένετε ἀγιάσαντες αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ πάντων, προσδοκῶντες ἀπολαβεῖν παρὰ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ νυμφίου τοὺς στεφάνους τοὺς ἀφθάρτους. ταῦτα διδάξας αὐτοὺς ὁ Κύριος ἐξήλθεν εἰπὼν αὐτοῖς, Ἡ χάρις τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν ἔσται μεθ' ὑμῶν.

13. Οἱ δὲ νέοι ἀκούσαντες ἐπίσθησαν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν· ἔμειναν δὲ ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς μὴδ' ὅλως ὑπνώσαντες. ὄρθρου δὲ γενομένου ὁ βασιλεὺς πληρώσας τράπεζαν εἰσήνεγκεν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν καὶ εὖρεν αὐτοὺς καθημένους ἀντίκρυ ἀλλήλων τὴν δὲ ὄφιν τῆς νύμφης

<sup>1</sup> It is perhaps worth while to mention that we also photographed some pages of cod. Iver. 275, which contain part of the Acts of Thomas in the more ordinary form. It did not seem worth publishing, but the negatives of my photographs are to be found in the Bodleian under the Pressmark MS. Gr. th. f. 8, if any scholar wishes to go more closely into the question.

ἀσκέπατον οὖσαν. καὶ λέγει αὐτῇ, Διὰ τὶ οὕτως κάθη μόνη ἰδία καὶ οὐδε σκέπη, ἀλλ' ὥς ἤδη χρόνον ἱκανὸν συμβιώσασα τῷ ἀνδρὶ σου ;

14. Ἡ δὲ ἀπεκρίθη λέγουσα Ἀληθῶς πάτερ ἐν πολλῇ ἀγάπῃ ὑπάρχωμεν, καὶ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν εὐχώμεθα ὅτι τὸ σκέπασμα τῆς αἰσχύνης ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἀφήρηται διότι ἐτέρῳ γάμῳ ἀληθινῶ συνεζεύχθημεν. καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ χαράς μου οὐκ ἐνεπαίχθην καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ταραχῆς οὐκ ἐταράχθην.

15. Ὁμοίως καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἤρξατο λέγειν, Εὐχαριστῶ σοι δέσποτα Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ὃ διὰ τοῦ ξένου δούλου σου ἐφανίσας ἡμῖν, ὃ τῆς στῶσεώς με λυτρώσάμενος, ὃ ξαυτὸν καταγαγὼν ἕως ἐμοῦ τοῦ ταπεινοῦ· Ὅτι πρὸς καιρῶν με ἀπαλλάξας ὃ ἀπολλυμένῳ δοὺς χεῖρα βοηθείας. Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ὃ τῶν ὅλων ἡμῶν δεσπότης καὶ βασιλεὺς, ἅγιος καὶ ἀληθινὸς, εὐχαριστοῦμεν σοι περὶ πάντα.

16. Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς διέρρηξεν τὴν αἰσθητὰ αὐτοῦ κράζων, Ἐξελθόντες ταχέως φέρετέ μοι τὸν πλάνον ἐκείνον, ἐγὼ γὰρ ἰδίαις μου χερσὶν αὐτὸν εἰσήγαγον, ὃς δὲ εὐρῶν αὐτὸν ἀγάγει μοι σώζει μου τὴν θυγατέρα, καὶ ἡ τι ἂν αἰτήσῃ δώσω αὐτῷ.

Ἀπελθόντες οὖν περιῆλθον πᾶσαν τὴν περίχωρον καὶ μὴ εὐρῶντες ἦλθον ἐν τῷ ξενοδοχείῳ καὶ εὗρων ἐκεῖ τὴν αὐλητρίαν μόνην κλαίουσαν περὶ αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἀναστᾶσα ἦλθεν πρὸς τοὺς νέους καὶ ἦν συν αὐτοῖς ἐξύπηρετοῦσα αὐτοῖς. οἱ δὲ νέοι κατήχησαν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα. μετὰ δὲ χρόνον ἤκουσαν περὶ τοῦ ἀποστόλου, ὅτι ἐν τῇ Ἰνδία διδάσκει, καὶ ἀπελθόντες ἔλαβον παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸ λουτρὸν τῆς χάριτος, φωτισθέντες ἐν ὀνόματι πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος, ᾧ πρέπει πᾶσα δόξα τιμὴ κράτος μεγαλωσύνη προσκύνησις καὶ βασιλεία ἀτελεύτητος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

17. Ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν ὁ ἀπόστολος ἐν τῇ Ἰνδία μετὰ Ἀββάβῃ τοῦ ἐμποροῦ εὐθέως ἀνήγαγεν τῷ βασιλεῖ περὶ τοῦ οἰκοδόμου, καὶ χαρὰς πλησθεὶς ἐκέλευσε εἰσελθεῖν τὸν Θωμᾶν καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ, Ποῖαν ἐργασίαν οἶδας ἐν ξύλοις, καὶ ποῖαν ἐν λίθοις ; ὁ δὲ ἀπόστολος λέγει, Ἐν μὲν ξύλοις ἄροτρα, καὶ ζυγοὺς, καὶ πλοῖα, τραχιλέας, καὶ κῶπας· ἐν δὲ λίθοις, στήλας, καὶ ναοὺς, καὶ πραιτώρια βασιλικὰ· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς χαρὰς πλησθεὶς εἶπεν ; Καγὼ τοιούτου χρεῖαν εἶχον, ἀλλὰ κτίσον μοι παλάτιον.

18. Καὶ λαβὼν αὐτὸν διελέγετο αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς τοῦ παλατίου τὸ πῶς τεθῶσιν οἱ λίθοι, καὶ ὅτε ἦλθεν πλησίον τοῦ τόπου ἐνθα ἐβούλετο τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ποιῆσαι λέγει αὐτῷ, "Ὅδε βούλομαι, καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος λέγει, καὶ γὰρ καὶ ὁ τόπος ἐπιτήδιός ἐστιν πρὸς οἰκοδομὴν, ἣν δὲ ἀλσώδης ὕδατα πολλὰ ἔχων, καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ Ἀπαρξαι τοῦ κτίζειν, καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος λέγει Ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτου οὐ δύναμαι κτίσαι, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶπεν, Πότε δὲ, καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος λέγει, Ὑπερβορετίου, καὶ τελειῷ ᾧ ξανθικῷ, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς λέγει Πᾶσα οἰκοδομὴ θέρους οἰκοδομεῖται, σὺ δὲ χειμῶνος κτίξεις, καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος λέγει, Οὕτως ὀφείλη γενέσθαι, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶπεν Εἰς τοῦτο σοι δοκεῖ, κὰν διαχάραξόν μοι αὐτῷ ἵνα ἴδω, ἐπειδὴ διὰ χρόνου ἐρχομένου ἐνταῦθα. ὁ δὲ ἀπόστολος λαβὼν κάλαμον ἐχάρασσεν μέτρον. Καὶ τὰς μὲν θυρίδας πρὸς ἀνατολὴν ἤνοιξεν πρὸς τὸ φῶς, τὰς δὲ θύρας πρὸς δύσιν, τὸ δὲ ἄρτοποιον πρὸς λίβα, τὸ δὲ ἀγωγὸν τοῦ ὕδατος εἰς ἄρκτον. ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν τύπον λέγει, Ἀληθῶς ἀνθρώπε τεχνίτης εἶ, καὶ πρέπει σοι βασιλεῖ ἐξυπηρετεῖσθαι, καὶ καταλείψας αὐτῷ χρυσίον ἱκανὸν ἀπεδήμησεν.

19. Καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν ἀπέστειλεν αὐτῷ δαπάνας καὶ ἄλλα ἐπιτήδεια, ὁ δὲ ἀπόστολος περιήρχετο τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰς κώμας οἰκονομῶν τοὺς δεομένους. ἔλεγεν γὰρ Τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τῷ βασιλεῖ δοθήσεται, καὶ ἀνεσίς ἔσται τοῖς πολλοῖς. μετὰ δὲ χρόνον ἀπέστειλεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς μαθεῖν εἰ ἐκτισται τὸ παλάτιον· καὶ δηλοῖ αὐτῷ ὁ ἀπόστολος Τὸ μὲν παλάτιον ἐκτισται τὸ δὲ στέγος περιλείπεται. Καὶ ἀνατείνας τὸ ὄμμα πρὸς τὸν Κύριον εἶπεν, Εὐχαριστῶ σοι δέσποτα Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ ἀπέθανον γὰρ ἵνα ζωοποιήσης με, καὶ πέπρακάς με ἵνα πολλοὺς ἐλευθερώσω, οὐκ ἐπαύσατο δὲ ἀναψύχων τοὺς δεομένους καὶ τοὺς ἐν θλίψει ὄντας καὶ ἔλεγεν, Ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν οἰκονόμησε ταῦτα, ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν τροφεὺς τῶν ὀρφανῶν, καὶ τῶν χηρῶν προστάτης καὶ τοῖς θλιβομένοις γίνεται ἀνάψυξις.

20. Μετὰ δὲ χρόνον ἦλθεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐρωτῶν τοὺς φίλους αὐτοῦ περὶ τοῦ παλατίου, καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ Οὐδὲν ἐκτισται, οὔδε ἑτερόν τι ἐποίησεν ἀλλὰ περιέρχεται τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰς κώμας ποιῶν εὐσεβείας καὶ χωριγῶν τοῖς πένησιν, καὶ διδάσκει ἕνα Θεὸν εἶναι τὸν Χριστὸν, καὶ πολλὰ ἐστὶν ἅπερ

ποιεῖ νεκροὺς γὰρ ἐγείρη, καὶ κυλλοὺς θεραπεύει, καὶ δαίμονας ἀπελαύνει, καὶ φορεῖ ἐν ἱμάτιον, τὸ δὲ βρῶμα αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν ἄρτος καὶ ὕδωρ. εἰ ὅτι μάγος ἐστὶν οὐκ οἶδαμεν, ἀλλὰ αἱ ἰάσεις αὐτοῦ ὡς ποιεῖ, καὶ τὸ ἀπλοῦν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπικρικῆς τοῦτο σημαίνει, ἡ ὅτι δίκαιος ἐστὶν ἡ ἀπόστολος Θεοῦ, πικνότερως γὰρ νηστεύει. ταῦτα ἀκούων ὁ βασιλεὺς ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ τὴν ὕψιν προσέτρεψεν.

21. Καὶ θυμὸς πλησθεὶς ἤνεγκεν τὸν Θωμᾶν καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ Ἐκτισάς μοι τὸ παλάτιον; καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος λέγει Ἐκτισται, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶπεν Πότε οὖν βλέπομεν αὐτῷ; καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος λέγει Ἄρτι ἰδεῖν οὐ δύνασαι, ἀλλ' ὅτε ἐξέλθῃς τοῦ βίου τοῦ προσκέρου τούτου. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ὀργισθεὶς ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν βληθῆναι εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἅμα τῷ ἐμπόρῳ Ἀββάνῃ ἕως ἀνακρίνηται περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ οὕτως ἀπολέσει αὐτούς· ὁ δὲ ἀπόστολος ἀπείν λέγων τῷ ἐμπόρῳ Μὴ λυποῦ, ἀλλὰ μόνον πίστευσον. καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ἐλευθερωθείσῃ, εἰς δὲ τὸν μέλλοντα αἰῶνα ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονομήσεις τῇ δὲ νυκτὶ ἐκείνῃ ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφὸς ἀθυμία ληφθεὶς περὶ τοῦ συμβάντος τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ πέμψας λέγει αὐτῷ, Ἰδοὺ ἀδελφεῖ πάντα σοι παρατίθηναι, τὴν τε οἰκίαν καὶ τὰ πράγματά μου, ἐγὼ γὰρ διὰ τὴν συμβάσαν σοι λύπην ἀθυμία ληφθεὶς ἀποθνήσκω, ἀλλὰ ἀνάπαυσόν μου τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπεξερχόμενος δευνῇ τιμωρία τῷ μάγῳ ἐκείνῳ. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν Ἐνεθυμήθην περὶ αὐτοὺς κατακαῦσαι ἐκδάρτους.

22. Ὁ δὲ πάραυτα ἀπέδωκεν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐπένθει τὸν ἴδιον ἀδελφόν, καὶ ἐβούλετο εἰς πολῦτιμον κενουργίαν πορφύραν αὐτὸν καταφθῆναι. οἱ δὲ ἄγγελοι λαβόντες τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπήγαγον ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ δεικνύοντες αὐτῇ τοὺς ἐκεῖ τόπους καὶ οἰκήσεις καὶ ὅσα ὁ Θεὸς ἀγαθὰ ἡτοίμασεν τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτὸν, καὶ ὅτε ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ Θωμᾶ ἐπληρώσαν αὐτὴν οἱ ἄγγελοι ποῦ βούλεται τὴν οἰκῆσιν ποιῆσαι, καὶ ἀποκριθεῖσα εἶπεν, Δέομαι ὑμῶν κύριοί μου εἰς ἐν τῶν κατωγέων τούτων ἑάσατέ με μέναι, καὶ εἶπον αὐτῇ ἐκείνοι, Οὐ δύνη, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου ἐστίν, ὃ οἰκοδόμησεν ὁ χριστιανὸς ἐκείνος, καὶ ἀπεκρίθη λέγουσα Δέομαι ὑμῶν, κύριοί μου, συγχωρήσατέ μοι ἀπελθεῖν ἵνα ἀγοράσω αὐτὸ παρ' αὐτοῦ, οὐ γὰρ οἶδεν αὐτῷ ὁ ἀδελφός μου.

23. Καὶ εὐθέως ἀφῆκαν αὐτὴν οἱ ἄγγελοι, καὶ ἐλθοῦσα εἰς τὸ

σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἀναστὰς λέγει τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν, 'Ἀπελθόντες ταχέως φέρετέ μοι τὸν ἀδελφόν μου, ἵνα αἰτήσομαι παρ' αὐτοῦ αἴτημα, καὶ ἀπελθόντες εὐηγγελίσαντο αὐτῷ περὶ τοῦ ἰδίου ἀδελφοῦ. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας χαρὰς ληφθεὶς ἦλθεν καὶ κατεφίλη αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ λέγει αὐτῷ, Αἰτήσιν τινα ἔχω πρὸς σέ καὶ μή μου παρακούσης, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς λέγει αὐτῷ, 'Ἀδελφέ μου ἐὰν ἔστιν ἕως τῆς κεφαλῆς μου, οὐ μή σε παρέλθω· τότε λέγει αὐτῷ, 'Ἀδελφέ, τὸ παλάτιον ὃ ἔχεις ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς πώλησόν μοι αὐτῷ ὅπερ σὺ οὐκ οἶδας. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, Καὶ ἐμοὶ παλάτιον ἐν οὐρανοῖς τοῦ ὑπάρχει ; καὶ εἶπεν, "Ὅπερ ὠκοδόμησέν σοι ὁ χριστιανὸς ἐκεῖνος.

24. Καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, 'Ἀδελφέ, ἐκεῖνω πωλήσαι σοι οὐ δύναμαι ἀόρατον γὰρ ἔστιν, ἀλλ' εὐχομαι καγὼ ἐπιτυχεῖν αὐτό. ἔχομεν δὲ τὸν οἰκοδόμον καὶ κτίζει σοι. καὶ πέμψας ἐξέβαλεν τὸν Θωμᾶν, καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ Συγχώρησον ἡμῶν ἥτι ἐπλημμελήσαμεν εἰς σε ἀγνοοῦντες, καὶ ποίησον ἡμᾶς κοινωνοὺς γενέσθαι ἐκείνου οὐ κηρύσσεις.

25. Ὁ δὲ ἀπόστολος λέγει Καγὼ ὑμῖν συγχαίρω κοινωνοὺς γενέσθαι αὐτοῦ τῆς βασιλείας. καὶ λαβὼν ἐφώτισεν αὐτοὺς δόσας αὐτοῖς τὸ λουτρὸν τῆς χάριτος ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. καὶ ἀναβάντων αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐφάνη αὐτοῖς ὁ σωτὴρ ὡς τὸν ἀπόστολον θαυμάσαι· καὶ φῶς μέγα ἔλαμψεν. καὶ στηρίζας αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ πίστει ἐξῆλθεν πορευθεὶς τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν Κυρίῳ, ᾧ πρέπει πᾶσα δόξα καὶ βασιλεία ἡ ἀτελεύτητος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.

## VII. A CATALOGUE AND DESCRIPTION OF THE BIBLICAL MSS. WHICH WE EXAMINED.

THE following catalogue contains a short description of all the MSS. which we saw on the mountain. In the case of most of the libraries it only supplements the catalogue of Prof. Lambros, but in the case of the Laura there is not at present any published catalogue, and Mr. Wathen therefore specially devoted himself to the task of producing a list of the vellum MSS. of the Gospels in that library. So far therefore as the Laura is concerned, the catalogue is chiefly his work, but we usually consulted together as to the date of the MSS., and often consulted Father Chrysostom. It will be seen that most of the MSS. have numbers in bold type attached to them. These refer to Dr. Gregory's *Text-Kritik*, and Dr. Gregory has been so kind as to go through my notes, and add to each new MS. the number which he proposes to assign to it in his next edition.

### CATALOGUE.

#### VATOPEDI.

N.B.—The catalogue now in use at this library is quite different from the one in Paris which Dr. Gregory used for his *Prolegomena* to Tischendorf.

1. Vatop. 5 (xiv). A beautifully illuminated copy of the works of Athanasius. A partially obliterated note at the beginning—*βιβλίον βασιλικὸν τοῦ (? τὸν) καλ Γωαν . . . ὀνομασθέντος διὰ τοῦ θείου καὶ ἀγγελικοῦ σχήματος Ἰωασάφ.* I doubt greatly whether we read this note correctly.

2. Vatop. 7 (xii), the works of Athanasius.

3. Vatop. 27 (Acts 1523) (xi) ff. 185 (19 × 14) vell. Acts (from xv. 20) Heb. Cath. Paul. (om. Eph.) στιχ. subs. ὑποθ. lect. syn. men. (imperfect). Text ordinary. om. Acts xv. 34.

4. Vatop. 58 (Evan. 1434) (xii) vell. Evv. κεφ. (Mc. Jo. only) lect. (imperfect). A later (xiii-xiv) hand added the *pericope adulterae* at the end of Luke, but it is also found in the usual place. Text ordinary.

5. Vatop. 101 (Evan. 1435) (xi) vell. Evv. κεφ. subs. pict. vers. στιχ. (βχ, αχ, βω, βτ) στας. *Pericope adulterae* obelized. Text ordinary.

6. Vatop. 106 (Evan. 1436) (xiii) ff. 212 (21.8 × 15.4) vell. col. 1. Evv. κεφ. τιν. στιχ. (Lc. only βω) subs. (Lc. only) syn. men. (Sept. Oct. missing). The quaternion containing ff. 112-119 has been supplied by a later (xv) hand. Several marginal notes correcting faults in the text, some by the first hand, others by a contemporary scribe, e.g. Mc. ii. 24 om. ἐν τ. σάββ. ins. m. s. in mg. Mc. v. 15 om. καθήμενον ins. m. s. in mg. Mc. xv. 28 om. vers. ins. m. s. in mg. Lc. ii. 20 om. καὶ αἰνοῦντες ins. m. s. in mg. Lc. ii. 31 om. ὁ ἡτοίμ . . . λαῶν ins. m. p. in mg. Lc. vii. 20 om. vers. ins. m. s. in mg. Lc. x. 27 om. ἐξ ὅλης τῆς . . . ἰσχ. σου ins. m. s. in mg.

7. Vatop. 218 (Acts 1524) (xiii) ff. 418 vell. Written by two contemporary hands. Paul. Heb. Jac. 1. 2. Pet. Jude. Imperfect syn. at beginning. Text ordinary.

8. Vatop. 221 (Evan. 1437) (xi-xii) vell. Lc. only with a commentary which describes St. Luke as μαθητῆς Πέτρου, κεφ. τιν. Text ordinary. A photograph of this MS. is contained in Bodl. MS. Gr. th. f. 8.

9. Vatop. 758 (Evan. 1438) (xi-xiii) ff. 340 (15.5 × 12.2) vell col. 1. Evv. κεφ. τιν. amm. eus. tab. στιχ. (— βχ βω βτ) subs. prol. (Mt. ἐμμ. ὑπὸ Ἰω. Lc. μαθ. Πέτρου) pict. lect. syn. Ep. ad Carp. Text ordinary. *adult.* obelized.

#### PANTOCRATOR.

10. Pant. 24 (x). Octateuch with Hexaplaric notes. I was inclined to think that this MS. may have come from S. Italy or Sicily, as the colouring reminded me of the MSS. of the Ferrar group, but I do not feel certain. We photographed it throughout for the Cambridge Septuagint; and were greatly assisted in doing



this by the very kind way in which the *ἐπίτροποι* of the monastery gave us facilities and help.

11. Pant. 28 (Acts 509) (ix-x). A *catena* on the Pauline and Catholic Epistles. It appears to contain a considerable amount of quotation from Theodore of Mopsuestia. Several photographs of it are to be found in Bodl. MS. Gr. th. f. 8. The text itself seems ordinary.

12. Pant. 36 (Evl. 1058) (xiii) ff. 242 col. 2 vell. Text ordinary.

13. Pant. 39 (Evan. 1392) (x-xi) (26.6 x 22.5) ff. unnumbered. col. 1 vell. Evv. κεφ. τιν. amm. eus. tab.-κεφ. στιχ. ( $\beta\chi$ ,  $\alpha\kappa$ ,  $\beta\omega$ ,  $\beta\tau$ ) subs. lect. syn. men. A full commentary in the margin. (Mc. Vict. Ant.) Photographs in Bodl. MS. Gr. th. f. 8.

14. Pant. 44 (Apoc. 1526) (ix-x) vell. A fragment of the Apocalypse written in half-uncial with the commentary of Andreas in minuscule. Probably the earliest MS. extant of this commentary. Photographs of two pages in Bodl. MS. Gr. th. f. 8.

✓ 15. Pant. 52 (Evan. 1399?) (xi) vell. Evv. κεφ. τιν. amm. eus. tab.-(κεφ.-can.) pict. lect. vers. Ep. ad Carp. syn. Text ordinary. Mt. viii. 13 *add. καὶ ὑποστρέψας κ.τ.λ.* This MS. was not numbered, and we were not sure whether it really was Pant. 52. That number is now attached to it.

#### IVÉRON.

16. Iver. 2 (Evan. 989) vell. The account in the Prolegomena to Tischendorf is accurate. The commentary in St. Mark is that of Victor of Antioch.

17. Iver. 5 (Evan. 990) vell. Text ordinary.

18. Iver. 19 (Evan. 994) (ix-x) vell. A text and *catena* written continuously and arranged in great confusion, containing apparently only Matt. and John. The commentary is chiefly anonymous, but there are a few extracts from Origen, Irenaeus, Theodore Mops., Severianus, Apollinarius, Gregory Thaum., and Cyril Alex.

19. Iver. 21 (Evan. 995). Text ordinary.

20. Iver. 30 (Evan. ? 999) (xiii) ff. 260 (23.2 x 17) col. 1 vell. Evv. act. cath. paul. hebr. κεφ. τιν. amm. tab.-κεφ. στιχ. Mc. only  $\alpha\chi$  subs. prol. lect. Text ordinary. In the Prolegomena Dr. Gregory gives 998 to Iver. 30. But the numbers appear to have been altered, for Iver. 30 does not correspond to his description of Evan. 998, and seems to be Evan. 999.

21. Iver. 52 (Evan. 1003) (xii-xiii) (22.2 x 14.6) vell. Evv. and

in a later hand (?xv), act. cath. κεφ. τιτ. tab.-κεφ. στιχ. lect. syn. men. *adult.* obelized. Text ordinary.

22. Iver. 56 (Evan. 1006) (xi) ff. 221 col. 1. Evv. apoc.-κεφ. τιτ. amm. eus. tab.-κεφ. στιχ. (βχ ακ βω βτ) subs. intro. lect. syn. (imperfect) Ep. ad Carp. Text ordinary, but in Mt. viii. 13 *add.* καὶ ὑποστρέψας κ.τ.λ., and in the *pericope adulterae* there are two notes: (1) τὸ κεφάλαιον τοῦτο τοῦ κατὰ Θωμᾶν εὐαγγελίου ἐστίν, (2) ἔγραψεν ἑκάστου αὐτῶν ἀμαρτίας. At the end there are many extracts from Patristic writers. We noted the following:—Titus of Bostra, Kosmas, Eusebius, Dionysius the Areopagite, Hesychius, Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Ammonius, Origen.

23. Iver. 68 (Evan. 1012) (xi) ff. 260 (23.2 × 17) col. 1 vell. Evv. κεφ. τιτ. amm. eus. lect. Ep. ad Carp. Text ordinary.

24. Iver. 72 (Evan. 1014) (xi-xii) (16.5 × 11.6) vell. Evv. κεφ. τιτ. amm. eus. tab.-κεφ. prol. Text ordinary.

25. Iver. 275 (xii) vell. A full account of its content is given by Lambros in the Cambridge catalogue. It seemed to me to be possibly a S. Italian MS. Some photographs are to be found in Bodl. MS. Gr. th. f. 8.

26. Iver. 476 (xiv) paper, various acts and martyrdoms, fully described by Lambros. Photographs of a fragment of the Acts of Thomas are to be found in Bodl. MS. Gr. th. f. 8, and are edited above, pp. 164-9.

27. Iver. 665 (Evan. 1028) (x-xi) (25 × 17) col. 1. vell. Matt. κεφ. τιτ. amm. eus. tab.-κεφ. lect. In bad condition. Text ordinary.

#### ST. ANDREW'S.

28. Andr. 1 (ix) uncial. (Evan. 5) there is nothing to add to Dr. Gregory's description except that Mc. xv. 28 is omitted. Photographs in Bodl. MS. Gr. th. f. 8.

29. Andr. 3 (Evan. 905) (xii) vell. Text ordinary.

30. Andr. 4 (Evan. 908) (xiii) vell. Text ordinary.

31. Andr. 5 (Evan. 906) vell. Text ordinary.

32. Andr. 6 (Evan. 1432) (xii) ff. 226 (14.6 × 11.3) col. 1 vell. Evv. κεφ. τιτ. tab.-can. amm. subs. lect. syn. Ep. ad Carp.

33. Andr. 8 (? Evl. 579). A lectionary (xiii) not Evan. 907. The numbers at this library have obviously been much altered since Dr. Gregory's visit.

34. Andr. 9 (Evan. 1433) (xi-xii) ff. 267 (21.7 × 15.6) vell. Paul. cath. evv. κεφ. τιτ. amm. eus. prol. lect. syn. men. tab.- (κεφ.-can.) vers. Text ordinary.

## ST. GREGORY'S.

35. Greg. 3 (Evan. 922). Description in the Prolegomena to Tischendorf is accurate, but it should be added that the *στίχοι* are *βφς*, *αφσι*, *βχο*, *βσι*. The subscription to Mt. is *ἐγράφη καὶ ἀντεβλήθη ἐν στίχοις βφς κεφαλαίους τινῇ, ἐξεδόθη δὲ κ.τ.λ.* and to Mc. *ἐγράφη καὶ ἀντεβλήθη ὁμοίως ἐν στίχοις αφσι κ.τ.λ.* This is a corrupted form of the subscription found in A &c. The text seemed ordinary, except that Mc. xv. 28 is omitted, but it should be examined again; we were only three hours in the monastery, and neither of us was well.

36. Greg. 156 (Evan. 923). The description in the Prolegomena is accurate, but add—*pict. subs. men. syn.* The MS. seemed to us to belong to the thirteenth rather than the twelfth century.

## ST. DIONYSIUS.

37. Dion. 4 (Evan. 924) (xii) vell. Evv. *κεφ. ττ. tab.-(κεφ.-can.) amm. subs. Ep. ad Carp. prol. pict.*

38. Dion. 8 (Evan. 927) (written by Theoktistos in 1133) ff. 280 (22.2 × 17.4) col. 1 vell. Evv. *act. cath. paul. κεφ. ττ. tab.-(κεφ.-can.) eus. amm. subs. euthal. hypoth. pict. men. syn. Ep. ad Carp.* An extract from the Apostolic Constitutions at the beginning. Text ordinary. Photograph in Bodl. MS. Gr. th. f. 8.

39. Dion. 10 (Evan. 9). The description in the Prolegomena is quite accurate. The text is ordinary. We noted the following readings:—Mt. xvi. 19 *καὶ ὁ ἐὰν λύσ. . .* end of verse is omitted, but added by the first hand in the margin. Mt. xxvi. 71 *mg. ἐν ἄλλω καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖ καὶ οὗτος ἦν.* Mt. xxvii. 9 *οὗτ' ἐξ Ἰερμ. ἀλλὰ Ζαχαρίου.* Mc. vi. 20 *πολλὰ ἃ ἐποίει*, but the ἃ although certainly by the first hand seemed to have added at the end of the line. Lc. xxii. 43-4 asterisked, but probably only for liturgical reasons, as a note is added *ὑποστρέφετε εἰς Μαθ.* A + is added at the beginning of each line of the *pericope adulterae*.

40. Dion. 22 (Evan. 930) (xi-xii) ff. 227 (19.4 × 15.4) col. 1 vell. Evv. (1 f. missing at the end of Jo.) *κεφ. ττ. tab.-κεφ. (missing for Mt.) pict.* Text ordinary.

41. Dion. 25 (Evan. 933) (xii) ff. 293 (19 × 14.6) col. 1 vell. Evv. *κεφ. ττ. tab.-κεφ. amm. eus. subs. lect. syn. men.* Text ordinary.

42. Dion. 26 (Evan. 934) (xii) ff. 260 (18.4 × 12.7) col. 1 vell. Evv. κεφ. τιτ. tab.-κεφ. (missing for Mt.) amm. subs. prol. στιχ. (βχ αχ — —). The subscription to Mark is *ιστέον ότι τὸ κατὰ Μάρκον ἄγ. εὐαγγ. ἐβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ γραφέν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ εἰς ἰλημ̄ ἐξεδόθη μετὰ χρόνους δέκα τ. χ. ἄ.* Text ordinary. om. Mc. xv. 28.

43. Dion. 28 (Evan. 936) (xii) ff. 69 (16.9 × 11) col. 1 vell. Fragments of Mt. and Mc. κεφ. ?amm. lect. Text ordinary.

44. Dion. 29 (Evan. 937) (xi) vell. Evv. τιτ. tab.-(κεφ.-can.) amm. subs. prol. Ep. ad Carp. A Latin scribe (? xv) has written an interlinear translation of a few words. Text ordinary.

45. Dion. 30 (Evan. 938) (written by Χαρίτων in 1319) (16.4 × 11.4) vell. Evv. κεφ. τιτ. tab.-(κεφ.-can.) ἀναγν. prol. subs. syn. men. στιχ. (Mt. only). Text ordinary. *adult.* obelized.

46. Dion. 40 (Evan. 948) (x) ff. 297 (14.6 × 11.5) col. 1 vell. Evv. κεφ. τιτ. amm. pict. lect. Text ordinary.

47. Dion. 67 (Evan. 950) (xii) ff. 39 (20.8 × 13.4) vell. Fragments of Lc. and Mc. in considerable confusion. Text ordinary.

#### PROTATI.

[This is the library of the church of the *κοινότης* or parliament of the monks at Karyes.]

48. Prot. 41 (Evan. 1097) (x-xii) (18 × 15). A copy of the Gospels made up from MSS. of different dates, at least one of which seemed to me to be S. Italian. κεφ. τιτ. amm. tab.-κεφ. lect. pict. A few exegetical notes in the margin. Text ordinary.

#### THE LAURA.

49. Laur. 1 (Evan. 1074) (xii-xiii) ff. 200 (12.2 × 9) col. 1 vell. Evv. (Jo. incomplete) κεφ. τιτ. amm. eus. tab.-(κεφ.-can.) harm. lect. Ep. ad Carp. This MS. is remarkable for the amount of lectionary matter which is incorporated into the text, e.g. Mt. vi. 14 *εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος· ἐὰν ἀφῆτε κ.τ.λ.* Mt. xxvi. 39 *add. ὡφθῇ δὲ ἄγγελος κ.τ.λ.* [We could find no other 'Ferrar' readings.] Text otherwise ordinary. om. Mt. xvi. 2. 3.

50. Laur. 2 (Evan. 1439) (xi) ff. 328 (14.6 × 10) col. 1 vell. Evv. κεφ. τιτ. tab.-κεφ. amm. pict. lect. syn. *adult. om.* Text ordinary.

51. Laur. 3 (Evan. 1440) (xiii) ff. 206 (15 × 11) col. 1 vell. Evv. κεφ. τιτ. amm. eus. tab.-κεφ. lect. syn. Perhaps S. Italian. Text ordinary.

52. Laur. 4 (Evan. 1421) (xiii and a few quaternions from an

earlier MS. ? xi) ff. 210 (14 × 11) col. 1 vell. Evv. κεφ. eus. amm. tab.-(κεφ.-can.) subs. στιχ. (Mt. only  $\overline{\beta\chi}$  in an early quaternion) lect. pict. Ep. ad Carp. Text ordinary.

53. Laur. 5 (Evan. 1442) (xiii) ff. 301 (13.5 × 10.8) col. 1. Evv. κεφ. τιτ. amm. tab.-κεφ. subs. lect. syn. Text ordinary.

54. Laur. 6 (Evan. 1443) (a. 1047) ff. 308 (14 × 9.8) col. 1 vell. Evv. κεφ. τιτ. eus. amm. tab.-(κεφ.-can.) subs. vers. lect. syn. men. Ep. ad Carp. Text ordinary, but Mt. xvi. 2, 3 and *adult.* are marked with +.

55. Laur. 7 (Evan. 1444) (x) ff. 345 col. 1. Evv. τιτ. amm. eus. tab.-κεφ. prol. (Κόσμος Ἰνδ.) pict. men. Mt. xvi. 2, 3 with ✓ Mc. xv. 28 *om.* Jo. vii. 52 οὐκ ἐγείρεται, but margin  $\eta$  οὐκ ἐγήγερται. Text otherwise ordinary.

56. Laur. 8 (Evan. 1445) (a. 1323) ff. 278 (16.8 × 13.5) col. 1 vell. Evv. κεφ. tab.-κεφ. amm. subs. στιχ. ( $\overline{\beta\chi}$ ,  $\overline{\alpha\chi}$ ,  $\overline{\beta\omega}$ ,  $\overline{\beta\tau}$ ) lect. pict. syn. men. *adult.* obelized. Text ordinary.

57. Laur. 9 (Evan. 1446) (xii) ff. 187 (17 × 11.8) col. 1 vell. Evv. κεφ. τιτ. amm. pict. Text ordinary.

58. Laur. 10 (Evan. 1447) (a. 1337) ff. 230 (16.8 × 12) col. 1 vell. Evv. κεφ. τιτ. tab.-can. amm. prol. subs. lect. syn. Reckonings of κύκλοι ἡλίου. Text ordinary.

59. Laur. 11 (? Evan. 1077) (x) ff. 263 (17.5 × 12.2) col. 1 vell. Evv. κεφ. τιτ. eus. amm. prol. pict. lect. (syn. men. by a later hand). Lc. xxii. 42 with ✕. Lc. xxi. 4 *add.* in mg. ταῦτα λέγων ἐφώνει ὁ ἔχων ὅτα κ.τ.λ. Jo. viii. 13 *om.* Jo. viii. 14 *om.* ὑμεῖς . . . ὑπάγω. *adult.* obelized. [So our notes, but Dr. Gregory says *deest*. It is this which makes me doubt whether this is really Evan. 1077.] Text ordinary.

60. Laur. 12 (Evan. 1076) (xi) ff. 280 (16.1 × 11.9) col. 1 vell. Evv. κεφ. τιτ. tab.-κεφ. amm. subs. (but placed before each Gospel) lect. (m. s.) pict. syn. Mc. iii. 25 *om.* but *ins.* m. s. in mg. Lc. iv. 6 *om.* ὅτι ἐμοὶ παραδέδοται but *ins.* m. s. in mg. *adult.* *om.* but *ins.* at the end of the Gospel with the note:—εὐρηται καὶ ἕτερα ἐν ἀρχαίοις ἀντιγράφοις ἅπερ συνειδομεν γράψαι πρὸς τὸ τέλος τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ ᾧ ἐστὶν τάδε καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἕκαστος κ.τ.λ.

61. Laur. 13 (Evan. 1448) (xi) ff. 255 (16.5 × 12.6) col. 1 ll. 35 vell. Evv. act. paul. cath. pss. prol. tab.-(κεφ.-can. but κεφ. for Mt. missing) amm. eus. τιτ. κεφ. lect. subs. Mt. viii. 13 *add.* καὶ ὑποστρέψας κ.τ.λ. Mt. xviii. 11 *add.* ζητῆσαι καὶ. Lc. xxii. 47 *add.* τοῦτο γὰρ σημεῖον κ.τ.λ. Text otherwise ordinary.

62. Laur. 14 (Evan. 1449) (xi) ff. 319 (16.4 × 11.3) col. 1 vell.

Ενν. κεφ. τῆς. tab.-can. eus. amm. αρχ. τελ. (not lect.) syn. men. Ep. ad Carp. om. Jo. iv. 3 *ins.* m. s. in mg. Mt. v. 44 om. εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμᾶς. Mc. xv. 23 om. Jo. viii. 42 om. but *ins.* m. s. in mg.

63. Laur. 15 (Evan. 1080) (ix-x) ff. 411 (19.4 × 13.2) col. 1 vell. Ενν. with commentary (semi-uncial) in the margin in places. Ενν. κεφ. τῆς. tab.-κεφ. eus. amm. prol. (Mt. ἐρμηνεύθη ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου) pict. Mt. ix. 13 om. εἰς μετάνοιαν. Mt. xvi. 2, 3 om. but *ins.* m. s. in mg. Mc. xv. 28 om. Lc. vii. 28 om. ὁ δὲ μικρότερος to end but *ins.* m. s. in mg. Lc. xxii. 43, 44 marked with ✕. *adult.* om. Photograph in Bodl. MS. Gr. th. f. 8.

64. Laur. 16 (Evan. 1078) (x-xi) ff. 192 (18.4 × 14.7) col. 1 vell. Ενν. κεφ. tab.-can. amm. prol. subs. (at the beginning) στιχ. (βχ, αχ, βω, βτ) lect. Mt. v. 44 om. καὶ διωκόντων ὑμᾶς but *ins.* m. s. Mt. xvi. 2, 3 om. Mc. xv. 28 om. Lc. vi. 4 om. καὶ ἔλαβεν. Lc. vi. 10 om. ὑγῆς but *ins.* m. p. Lc. xi. 4 ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ is obelized. *adult.* at the end of Jo. with the same note as in 60.

65. Laur. 17 (Evan. 1450) (xi) ff. 273 (18.4 × 14) col. 1 vell. Ενν. κεφ. τῆς. tab.-κεφ. amm. lect. pict. syn. Mt. v. 44 om. καὶ διωκόντων ὑμᾶς but *ins.* m. s. in mg. Mt. ix. 13 om. εἰς μετάνοιαν. Lc. xxi. 31 om. τὸ θέρος . . . ἐγγὺς ἐστίν.

66. Laur. 18 (Evan. 1451) (xii-xiii) ff. 254 (18 × 13.4) col. 1. Ενν. κεφ. τῆς. eus. amm. subs. Many pages missing and in bad condition.

67. Laur. 19 (Evan. 1452) (a. 992 by Ἰωάννης) ff. 266 (18 × 14.4). Ενν. κεφ. τῆς. tab.-(can.-κεφ.) amm. eus. prol. Ep. ad Carp. The ammonian sections are written in green ink and the canons in red. *adult.* obelized.

68. Laur. 20 (Evan. 1453) (xiii) ff. 207 (17.1 × 13.6) col. 1 ll. 27. Ενν. tab.-κεφ. (Mt. missing) ἀναγν. (ρῖς, σᾶ, ρῦς, ξῖβ) lect. subs. στιχ. (βχ, αχ, βω —).

69. Laur. 21 (Evan. 1454) (xii) ff. 256 (18.2 × 14.5) col. 1 ll. 21 vell. Ενν. κεφ. τῆς. tab.-(can.-κεφ.) eus. amm. prol. subs. vers. pict. Ep. ad Carp. Mt. vii. 13 om. καὶ πολλοὶ . . . δι' αὐτῆς but *ins.* m. s. in mg.

70. Laur. 22 (Evan. 1455) (xi-xii) ff. 283 (18.1 × 13.8) col. 1 ll. 22 vell. Ενν. κεφ. τῆς. tab.-κεφ. eus. amm. lect. pict. syn. men. Ep. ad Carp.

71. Laur. 23 (Evan. 1079) (x) ff. 271 (20.1 × 14.5) col. 1 ll. 24 vell. Ενν. κεφ. τῆς. amm. eus. tab.-(κεφ.-can.) prol. pict. lect. men.

(imperfect) Ep. ad Carp. Mt. xxvii. 9 διὰ Ἡσαίου τοῦ προφ.  
Lc. xxii. 43 f. with ✕. Jo. v. 4 with ✕.

72. Laur. 24 (Evan. 1456) (xiii) ff. 227 (18.8 × 14.1) col. 1 ll. 33.  
Evv. act. paul. cath. κεφ. τῆς. amm. tab.-κεφ. prol. subs. lect.

73. Laur. 25 (Evan. 1457) (xii-xiii) ff. 254 (19.6 × 14.4) col. 1  
ll. 25 vell. Evv. κεφ. τῆς. tab.-can. amm. pict. Mt. xviii. 11 ζητῆσαι  
καὶ σῶσαι. Lc. vi. 4 om. ἔλαβε καὶ. *adult. om.*

74. Laur. 26 (Evan. 1458) (x) ff. 323 (19 × 14.8) col. 1 ll. 20 vell.  
Evv. κεφ. τῆς. amm. eus. tab.-κεφ. Mc. xv. 28 om. but *add. m. s.*  
in mg. *adult. om.* but a new page containing it has been inserted.

75. Laur. 27 (Evan. 1459) (xiii) ff. 210 (19.5 × 13.8) col. 1  
ll. 23 vell. Evv. κεφ. τῆς. amm. tab.-κεφ. Mt. xvi. 2, 3 om.  
*adult. om.*

76. Laur. 28 (Evan. 1460) (xii) ff. 263 (17.8 × 13.8) col. 1 ll. 21  
vell. Evv. κεφ. τῆς. amm. eus. tab.-(κεφ.-can.) subs. στιχ. ( $\overline{\beta\chi}$ ,  $\overline{\alpha\chi}$ ,  
 $\overline{\beta\omega}$ ,  $\overline{\beta\tau}$ ) pict. Ep. ad Carp. om. Lc. ix. 55 but *add. m. s.* in mg.  
*adult.* marked with +.

77. Laur. 29 (Evan. 1461) (xiii) ff. 330 (20 × 14.5) col. 1 ll. 20  
vell. Evv. κεφ. tab.-κεφ. prol. subs. vers. στιχ. ( $\overline{\beta\chi}$ ,  $\overline{\alpha\chi}$ ,  $\overline{\beta\omega}$ ,  $\overline{\beta\tau}$ )  
lect. syn. men. ἀναγν. *adult.* marked with —.

78. Laur. 30 (Evl. 1073) vell.

79. Laur. 31 (Evan. 1462) (? date) ff. 265 (20.9 × 15) col. 1  
ll. 20 vell. Evv. κεφ. subs. στιχ. ( $\overline{\beta\chi}$ ,  $\overline{\alpha\chi}$ ,  $\overline{\beta\omega}$ ,  $\overline{\beta\tau}$ ) tab.-κεφ. lect.  
syn. men. ἀναγν. *adult.* with —.

80. Laur. 32 (Evan. 1463) (xii) ff. 213 (19.7 × 13.8) col. 1 ll. 26  
vell. Evv. κεφ. τῆς. tab.-κεφ. amm. subs. lect. pict. vers. *adult.*  
with —.

81. Laur. 33 (Evan. 1464) (xi-xii) ff. 292 (20.5 × 15.4) col. 1  
ll. 20 vell. Evv. κεφ. τῆς. tab.-κεφ. amm. subs.

82. Laur. 34 (Evan. 1465) (xii) ff. 308 (20.9 × 14.7) col. 1 ll. 24  
vell. Evv. κεφ. τῆς. tab.-(can.-κεφ.) amm. prol. subs. (Mt. only)  
στιχ. (Mt. only  $\overline{\beta\chi}$ ) lect. syn. men. Mt. xvi. 2, 3 om.

83. Laur. 35 (Evan. 1466) (a. 1270) ff. 233 (20 × 12.7) col. 1  
vell. Evv. κεφ. τῆς. amm. lect. pict. men. syn. Jo. vii. 8 om. ἐγὼ  
οὕτω . . . ταύτην but *ins. m. s.* in mg.

84. Laur. 36 (Evan. 1467) (xii-xiii) ff. 343 (20.6 × 13) col. 1  
ll. 23 vell. Evv. κεφ. τῆς. amm. eus. lect. syn. men. (imperfect).  
Mt. viii. 13 *add. καὶ ὑποστρέψας κ.τ.λ.* Mt. xxvi. 73 om. καὶ γὰρ  
ἡ λαλιά κ.τ.λ. but *ins. m. s.* in mg. *adult.* with —.

85. Laur. 37 (Evan. 1468) (xii-xiii) ff. 245 (20.6 × 14.9) col. 1  
ll. 24 vell. Evv. κεφ. τῆς. amm. eus. prol. vers. tab.-(κεφ.-can.) syn.

men. Ep. ad Carp. At the end some notes on exegetical difficulties, e. g. *σχόλια εἰς τὸ ἡ ὥρα ἦν ὡσεὶ 5̄*.

86. Laur. 38 (Evan. 1469) (xiii) ff. 172 (20 × 15.4) col. 1 vell. Evv. (imperfect) *κεφ. τιν. prol. lect. syn. (imperfect)*.

87. Laur. 39 (Evan. 1470) (x) ff. 215 (20.6 × 14.7) col. 1 ll. 22 vell. Evv. *κεφ. τιν. amm. tab.-(κεφ.-can.) subs. lect.* Ep. ad Carp. Mc. xv. 28 *om.* but *ins. m. s. in mg.* Lc. vi. 4 *om.* καὶ ἔδωκεν καὶ τ. μ. α. but *ins. m. s. in mg.* Jo. viii. 14 *om.* ὑμεῖς οὐκ οἴδατε κ.τ.λ. but *ins. m. s. in mg.* Jo. viii. 24 *om.* ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ κ.τ.λ. but *ins. m. s. in mg. adult. om.*

88. Laur. 40 (Evan. 1471) (xi) ff. 396 (19.8 × 14) col. 1 ll. 18 vell. Evv. *κεφ. τιν. tab.-κεφ. amm. eus. subs. (not Mt.) στιχ. (β̄χ, ᾱχ, β̄ω, β̄τ) lect. syn. men. adult. c. —*.

89. Laur. 41 (Evan. 1472) (xii) ff. 306 (19.2 × 14.5) col. 1 ll. 21 vell. Evv. *κεφ. τιν. amm. prol. tab.-(κεφ.-can.) lect. syn.* Ep. ad Carp. Mt. viii. 13 *add. καὶ ὑποστρέψας κ.τ.λ.* Mt. xix. 9 *om.* καὶ ὁ ἀπολελ. κ.τ.λ. but *ins. in m. s. in mg.* Mt. xxi. 7 *om.* καὶ ἐπεκάθ. κ.τ.λ. but *add. m. s. in mg.*

90. Laur. 42 (Evan. 1473) (xi) ff. 227 (21.3 × 16.5) col. 1 ll. 26 vell. Evv. *κεφ. τιν. amm. eus. tab.-(κεφ.-can.) prol.* Ep. ad Carp. Mt. xxviii. 9 *om.* ὡς δὲ ἐπορεύοντο . . . αὐτοῦ but *add. m. s. in mg. adult. om.*

91. Laur. 43 (Evl. 1074) vell.

92. Laur. 44 (Evan. 1474) (xii) ff. 416 (22.8 × 16.6) col. 1 ll. 19 vell. Evv. *κεφ. τιν. amm. eus. tab.-κεφ. lect. syn. men.* Mt. viii. 13 *add. καὶ ὑποστρέψας κ.τ.λ.*

93. Laur. 45 (Evan. 1475) (xii) ff. 279 (22.5 × 16) col. 1 ll. 20 vell. Evv. *κεφ. τιν. amm. tab.-(κεφ.-can.) subs. στιχ. (β̄χ, ᾱχ, β̄ω, β̄τ) lect. pict. syn.* Mt. viii. 13 *add. καὶ ὑποστρέψας κ.τ.λ.* but this is now marked with dots. Jo. iii. 31 *om.* ὁ ὢν . . . ἐπάνω πάντων ἐστὶ καὶ but *add. m. s. in mg.*

94. Laur. 46 (Evan. 1476) (xii-xiii) ff. 348 (21.2 × 15.8) col. 1 ll. 21 vell. Evv. *tab.-κεφ. prol. eus. κεφ. τιν. subs. pict. syn. men. lect. ἀναγν.*

95. Laur. 47 (Evan. 1477) (xiii) ff. 286 (21.9 × 16) col. 1 ll. 22. Evv. *tab.-κεφ. prol. vers. κεφ. τιν. subs. στιχ. (β̄χ, ᾱχ, —, β̄τ) syn. men. lect. ἀναγν.*

96. Laur. 48 (Evan. 1478) (x) ff. 217 + 13 (21.5 × 18.2) col. 1 ll. 24 vell. (but the 13 added leaves are paper). Evv. *tab.-(κεφ.-can.) prol. Ep. ad Carp. amm. eus. κεφ. τιν. subs. (at the beginning).* Lc. vi. 4 *om.* καὶ ἔλαβε καὶ Lc. xx. 11 *om.* ἕτερον . . . πέμψαι but



*add. m. s. in mg.* Jo. v. 9 *om.* καὶ εὐθέως . . . περιεπάτει but *ins. m. s. in mg.* Jo. v. 12 *om.* verse but *add. m. s. in mg.* Jo. vii. 8 originally written ἡμεῖς ἀνάβητε εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν ταύτην ὅτι ὁ ἐμὸς καιρὸς κ.τ.λ. but ταύτην has been erased and a later hand has written over it ἐγὼ οὐκ ἀναβαίνω. Jo. viii. 7 *om.* vers. but *add. in mg.*; and so also small omissions are made and corrected in Jo. x. 6, x. 12, x. 18, x. 32, xiii. 32, xiii. 33. We spent some time over this MS., but at last came to the conclusion that although there were more than the usual number of variants, it was not of great value, but had merely been written somewhat carelessly.

97. Laur. 49 (Evan. 1479) (xi) ff. 266 (21.5 × 16.3) col. 1 vell. Evv. κεφ. τιτ. amm. eus. tab.-κεφ. prol. subs. vers. lect. syn. men. tab.-κυκλ. ἥλ. at the end and tab.-κυκλ. σελην. at the beginning.

98. Laur. 50 (Evan. 1480) (xiii) ff. 243 (21.5 × 15.3) col. 1 ll. 26 vell. Evv. tab.-κεφ. κεφ. ἀναγν. lect. syn. men. *adult.* obelized.

99. Laur. 51 (Evan. 1073) (x) ff. 334 (22 × 17.4) col. 1. Evv. act. extracts from Fathers, an uncial leave at the beginning contains a lection beginning Mt. xxiv. 37, amm. lect. syn. men. Mt. ix. 13 *om.* εἰς μετάνοιαν. Mt. xvi. 2-3 *om.* but *ins. m. s. in mg.* Mc. xv. 28 *om.* Lc. i. 17 *om.* but *ins. m. s. in mg.* Lc. xxii. 44 marked ☩ and with a lectionary note κατὰ ματθ. κεφ. σ̄75, i. e. Mt. xxvi. 40. *adult. om.* but vii. 53 is inserted by a later hand. The extracts from the Fathers are (1) Chrysostom εἰς τὴν πρόδοσιν τοῦ Ἰούδα καὶ τὴν παράδοσιν τῶν μυστηρίων: (2) εἰς τὸν σταυρόν, κ.τ.λ. apparently anonymous: (3) Gregory Nanz. on the Passover, and εἰς τὴν βραδυτῆτα: (4) εἰς τὴν καυὴν κυριακὴν: (5) νοουθεσία γερόντων πνευματικῶν κατὰ μονάχων.

100. Laur. 52 (Evan. 1481) (xi) ff. 222 (21 × 16.3) col. 1 ll. 22 vell. Evv. Ep. ad Carp. tab.-κεφ. vers. κεφ. τιτ. pict.

101. Laur. 53 (Evl. 1075) vell.

102. Laur. 54 (Evan. 1482) (xiii) ff. 395 (22.5 × 15.7) col. 1 ll. 25 vell. Evv. act. cath. paul. tab.-κεφ. prol. κεφ. subs. lect. pict. syn. men. ἀναγν. στιχ. (β̄χ, ᾱχ, β̄ω, β̄τ). *adult.* obelized. Lc. xxii. 47 *add.* τοῦτο γὰρ κ.τ.λ.

103. Laur. 55 (Evl. 1076) vell. Uncial.

104. Laur. 56 (Evl. 1077) vell. Uncial.

105. Laur. 57 (Evan. 1483) (xi) ff. 272 (24.4 × 19) col. 1 ll. 20. Evv. Ep. ad Carp. tab.-(can.-κεφ.) prol. vers. eus. amm. τιτ. κεφ. lect. Mt. xvi. 14 *om.* ἕτεροι δὲ Ἰερεμίαν but *add. m. s. in mg.* Mt. xxiii. 8 διδάσκαλος ὁ Χριστός and *tr.* πάντες . . . ἐστε το v. 9.

106. Laur. 58 (Acts 1525) (a. 1118) ff. 142 (23.4 × 17.3) col. 2 act. cath. paul. Euthal. martyr.-Paul. στιχ. Text ordinary.

107. Laur. 59 (Evan. 1484) (xii) ff. 299 (22.6 × 16.5) col. 1 ll. 20 vell. Evv. tab.-κεφ. amm. κεφ. τιτ. The name of the scribe seems to have been Μάξιμος, as this name is written by the first hand at the end of the MS. Mt. xix. 9 om. καὶ ὁ ἀπολελ. . . . μοιχᾶται. Mt. xix. 18 om. οὐ μοιχεύσεις. Mc. iii. 1 om. πάλιν. Mc. iii. 5 om. ὑγιὲς ὡς ἡ ἄλλη. Mc. vi. 17 om. Φιλίππου. Mc. vi. 24 om. vers. Mc. vii. 8 om. ἀφέντες . . . ἀνθρώπων. Mc. x. 19 om. μὴ ἀποστερήσης. Mc. x. 27 om. πάντα . . . θεῷ. Mc. xi. 7, 8 om. ἐπ' αὐτῷ . . . ὁδόν. Mc. xv. 28 erased. Lc. vi. 4 ἔφαγε erased. Lc. xx. 16 om. τοὺς γεωργοὺς. Lc. xx. 24 after δηνάριον a line is erased. Lc. xxii. 44 καὶ . . . προσήχητο is erased, xxii. 47 om. καὶ ἤγγισε . . . αὐτόν. But all these omissions are corrected by a later hand, who also added to Lc. xxii. 48 τοῦτο τὸ σημ. κ.τ.λ. . . . ἔστε to the end of v. 9, but a later hand has written the ordinary text in the margin.

108. Laur. 60 (Evan. 1485) (xi-xii) ff. 228 (23.6 × 18.6) col. 1 ll. 21 vell. Evv. amm. eus. κεφ. τιτ. pict. Mc. xv. 28 om. Lc. xiv. 8 om. ὑπό . . . κατακλ. but add. m. s. Lc. xxii. 47 add. τοῦτο γὰρ σημ. κ.τ.λ.

109. Laur. 61 (Evan. 1486) (a. 1098) ff. 233 (24.3 × 19) col. 1 vell. Evv. κεφ. τιτ. tab.-can. amm. eus. men. syn. Ep. ad Carp. adult. obelized.

110. Laur. 62 (Evan. 1487) (xii) ff. 275 (23.7 × 16.5) col. 1 ll. 22 vell. Evv. tab.-κεφ. prol. κεφ. lect. subs. (Jo. missing) στιχ. (β̄χ, ᾱχ, —, —) syn. men. ἀναγν. adult. marked —. Lc. xxii. 47 add. τοῦτο γὰρ κ.τ.λ.

111. Laur. 63 (Evan. 1488) (xii) ff. 271 (24.2 × 18.1) col. 1 ll. 22 vell. Evv. tab.-κεφ. prol. vers. κεφ. lect. ἀναγν. subs. στιχ. (β̄χ, ᾱχ, β̄ω, β̄τ) syn. men. adult. marked with signs of doubtfulness. Lc. xxii. 47 add. τοῦτο . . . αὐτός ἐστιν.

112. Laur. 64 (Evan. 1489) (xii) ff. 289 (22.7 × 16.1) col. 1 ll. 24 vell. Evv. tab.-κεφ. prol. κεφ. lect. subs. syn. men. ἀναγν. adult. marked as doubtful. Lc. xxii. 47 add. τοῦτο . . . οὗτός ἐστιν.

113. Laur. 65 (Evan. 1490) (xii) ff. 309 (23 × 16.8) col. 1 vell. Evv. act. paul. cath. κεφ. τιτ. amm. eus. tab.-(κεφ.-can.) prol. vers. lect. syn. men. Ep. ad Carp.

114. Laur. 66 (Evan. 1491) (xii-xiii) ff. 195 (22.9 × 16.5) col. 1

ll. 26 vell. Evv. tab.-κεφ. amm. τιν. κεφ. subs. pict. Mc. xv. 28 *om.*

115. Laur. 67 (Evan. 1492) (a. 1342) ff. 343 (23.5 × 14.7) col. 1 ll. 21 vell. Evv. prol. vers. tab.-κεφ. τιν. κεφ. subs. στιχ. ( $\overline{\beta\chi}$ ,  $\overline{\alpha\chi}$ ,  $\overline{\beta\omega}$ ,  $\overline{\beta\tau}$ ). *adult.* obelized. Lc. xxii. 47 *add.* τοῦτο γὰρ . . . αὐτός ἐστιν.

116. Laur. 68 (Evan. 1493) (xiv) ff. 182 (25.4 × 17.2) col. 1 ll. 25 vell. Evv. tab.-κεφ. κεφ. lect. subs. ἀναγν. pict. στιχ. ( $\overline{\beta\chi}$ ,  $\overline{\alpha\chi}$ ,  $\overline{\beta\omega}$ ,  $\overline{\beta\tau}$ ). *adult.* obelized. Lc. xxii. 47 *add.* τοῦτο γὰρ . . . αὐτός ἐστιν.

117. Laur. 69 (Evan. 1494) (xii) ff. 267 (25.1 × 17.1) col. 1 ll. 28 vell. Evv. tab.-κεφ. prol. vers. τιν. κεφ. lect. subs. στιχ. ( $\overline{\beta\chi}$ ,  $\overline{\alpha\chi}$ ,  $\overline{\beta\omega}$ ,  $\overline{\beta\tau}$ ) ἀναγν. Mt. viii. 13 *add.* καὶ ὑποστρέψας κ.τ.λ. Lc. xxii. 47 *add.* τοῦτο γὰρ . . . αὐτός ἐστιν. *adult.* obelized.

118. Laur. 70 (Apl. 1118) vell.

119. Laur. 71 (Evl. 1078) vell.

120. Laur. 72 (Evl. 1079) vell.

121. Laur. 73 (Evan. 1495) (xii-xiii) ff. 263 (24.6 × 18.6) col. 1 ll. 29 vell. Paul. (imperfect) cath. evv. tab.-κεφ. prol. lect. subs. amm. (erased) ἀναγν. syn. men.

122. Laur. 74 (Evan. 1496) (xiv) ff. 284 (24.5 × 18) col. 1 ll. 22 vell. Evv. prol. tab.-κεφ. κεφ. lect. subs. στιχ. ( $\overline{\beta\chi}$ , —, —, —) ἀναγν. syn. men. *adult.* marked as doubtful. Lc. xxii. 47 *add.* τοῦτο . . . αὐτός ἐστιν.

123. Laur. 75 (Evan. 1497) (xiii) ff. 345 (24.7 × 18.3) col. 1 ll. 21 vell. Evv. prol. tab.-κεφ. amm. τιν. κεφ. lect. subs. syn. men. Lc. vi. 4 *om.* καὶ ἔλαβε. Lc. xxii. 47 *add.* τοῦτο . . . αὐτός ἐστιν.

124. Laur. 76 (Evan. 1498) (xii-xiii) ff. 217 (25.3 × 16.3) col. 1 vell. Evv. κεφ. τιν. amm. tab.-κεφ. lect. prol. pict. syn. men.

125. Laur. 77 (Evan. 1499) (xii-xiii) ff. 230 (24.5 × 17.2) col. 1 ll. 28 vell. Evv. tab.-κεφ. lect. ἀναγν. subs. syn. men. Lc. xxii. 47 *add.* τοῦτο γὰρ . . . αὐτός ἐστιν.

126. Laur. 78 (Evan. 1500) (ix) ff. 156 (21.7 × 18.3) col. 1 ll. 17 vell. in poor condition. Mt. iv. 13-Mc. xv. 16. harm. at the bottom of the pages. amm. eus. τιν. κεφ. lect. mus. Some marginal notes written in an uncial hand. Mt. ix. 13 *om.* εἰς μετόπισιν but *add.* m. s. in mg. Mt. xvi. 3 *om.* ὑποκριταί but *add.* m. s. in mg. The same also adds in the next line καὶ τῆς γῆς after οὐρανοῦ. Mt. xvi. 11 περὶ ἄρτων. Mt. xviii. 11 ζητῆσαι καὶ is added above the line. Mc. i. 1 καθὼς. Mc. xiv. 12 *om.* τῶν ἀζύμων . . . ἔθνον but *add.* m. s. in mg.

127. Laur. 79 (Evan. 1501) (xiii-xiv) ff. 201 (22.9 × 17.5) col. 1 ll. 33 vell. in poor condition. Act. paul. cath. evv. euthal. tab.-κεφ. harm. ἀναγν. κεφ. lect. subs. vers. (Mt. missing) στιχ. (—,  $\overline{\alpha\chi}$ ,  $\overline{\beta\omega}$ , —) syn. men. Lc. xxii. 47 *add.* τοῦτο γὰρ . . . αὐτός ἐστιν.
128. Laur. 80 (Evl. 1080) vell.
129. Laur. 81 (Evl. 1081) vell.
130. Laur. 82 (Evl. 1082) vell. Uncial.
131. Laur. 83 (Evl. 1083) vell.
132. Laur. 84 (Evl. 1084) vell.
133. Laur. 85 (Evl. 1085) vell.
134. Laur. 86 (Evl. 1086) vell. Uncial.
135. Laur. 87 (Evan. 1502) (xii-xiii) ff. 409 (26.8 × 17.5) col. 1 ll. 17 vell. Evv. Ep. ad Carp. prol. tab.-(κεφ.-can.) amm. τιν. κεφ. lect. syn. men. Mt. v. 44 om. καὶ δωκόντων ὑμᾶς. Mt. xvi. 2-3 om. but *add.* m. s. in mg. Mt. xvi. 4 om. τοῦ προφήτου but *add.* m. s. in mg. Mt. xviii. 11 om. Mt. xxiii. 13, 14, these verses are transposed, and μακρά is omitted. Mc. i. 27 om. τί ἐστὶ τοῦτο; Lc. xxii. 47 *add.* τοῦτο . . . αὐτός ἐστιν.
136. Laur. 88 (Evl. 1087) vell.
137. Laur. 89 (Evl. 1088) vell.
138. Laur. 90 (? Evl. 1098) vell.
139. Laur. 91 (Evl. 1090) vell.
140. Laur. 92 (Evl. 1091) vell. Uncial.
141. Laur. 93 (Evl. 1092) vell.
142. Laur. 94 (Evl. 1093) vell.
143. Laur. 95 (Evl. 1094) vell.
144. Laur. 96 (Evl. 1095) vell.
145. Laur. 97 (Evl. 1096) vell. Uncial.
146. Laur. 98 (Evl. 1097) vell.
147. Laur. 99 (Evan. 1508) (a. 1388) ff. 261 (29.3 × 22.2) col. 2 ll. 33 vell. Evv. act. cath. paul. apoc. prol. vers. tab.-κεφ. κεφ. lect. subs. στιχ. ( $\overline{\beta\chi}$ ,  $\overline{\alpha\chi}$ ,  $\overline{\beta\omega}$ ,  $\overline{\beta\tau}$ ) ἀναγν. syn. men. *adult.* obelized. Lc. xxii. 47 *add.* τοῦτο . . . αὐτός ἐστιν.
148. Laur. 100 (Evl. 1098) vell.
149. Laur. 101 (Evl. 1099) vell.
150. Laur. 102 (Evl. 1100) vell. Uncial.
151. Laur. 103 (Evl. 1101) vell.
152. Laur. 104 (Evan. 1071) v. pp. 132-51.
153. Laur. 105 (Evl. 1102) vell.
154. Laur. 106 (Evl. 1103) vell.
155. Laur. 107 (Evl. 1104) vell.

156. Laur. 108 (Evl. 1105) vell. Uncial.  
 157. Laur. 109 (Evan. 1504) (xiii) ff. 93 (29 × 20.8) col. 2 ll. 29 vell. in poor condition, Lc. iv. 1—Jo. tab.-κεφ. amm. κεφ. τιν. lect. syn. men. Lc. xxii. 47 *add.* τοῦτο . . . αὐτός ἐστιν.  
 158. Laur. 110 (Evl. 1106) vell.  
 159. Laur. 111 (Evl. 1107) vell.  
 160. Laur. 112 (Evl. 1108) vell.  
 161. Laur. 113 (Evl. 1109) vell.  
 162. Laur. 114 (Evl. 1110) vell.  
 163. Laur. 115 (Evl. 1111) vell.  
 164. Laur. 116 (Evl. 1112) vell.  
 165. Laur. 117 (Evl. 1113) vell.  
 166. Laur. 118 (Evl. 1114) vell.  
 167. Laur. 119 (Evl. 1115) vell.  
 168. Laur. 120 (Evl. 1116) vell.  
 169. Laur. 146<sup>1</sup> (Evan. 1505) (a. 1084) ff. 268 (16.5 × 12) col. 1 ll. 41 vell. Evv. act. cath. paul. pss. Ep. ad Carp. tab.- (κεφ.-can.) vers. amm. κεφ. τιν. lect. pict. Lc. xxii. 47 *add.* τοῦτο . . . αὐτός ἐστιν.  
 170. Laur. 172 (Evan. Ψ) v. pp. 94—131.  
 171. Laur. 173 (Evan. 1509) (xii—xiii) ff. 332 (21.4 × 14) col. 1 ll. 31 vell. Evv. act. paul. cath. prol. ἀναγν. lect. subs. (Mc. only) στιχ. (—, ἀχ, —, —) syn. Lc. xxii. 47 *add.* τοῦτο . . . αὐτός ἐστιν.  
 172. Laur. 209 (Evan. 1506) (xiv) vell. A fragment of text with Theophylact's commentary, almost illegible in most parts. In the list of Apostles it reads Ζεβεδαῖος instead of Θεοδῶτος.  
 173. Laur. 233 (Evan. 1507) vell. A catena with text at least in places, includes quotations from Origen, Chrysostom, Eusebius, Theodore Mops., Cyril Alex., Titus Bost.  
 174. Laur. 270 (Evv. 1508) (? date) ff. 448 (21.7 × 14.4) col. 1 ll. 27 paper. Evv. act. cath. paul. tab.-κεφ. κεφ. ἀναγν. prol. vers. lect. subs. στιχ. syn. men. Lc. xxii. 47 *add.* τοῦτο . . . αὐτός ἐστιν. *adult.* obelized.  
 175. Laur. 288 (Evan. 1510) (xi) ff. 211 (20.8 × 16.3) col. 2 ll. 28 vell. in poor condition. Evv. κεφ. τιν. tab.-κεφ. amm. eus. lect. syn. (on paper). Mc. xv. 28 *om.*

<sup>1</sup> There is a double numeration in use at the Laura, (1) a continuous system, which is used in the catalogue; (2) 17 shelves, each being numbered with a letter. These numerations can be interchanged, and either is sufficient in asking for MSS., but it may be well to remember that 1-120 = 1 A-120 A, 121-240 = 1 B-120 B, and so on, the number of MSS. in a row of shelves varying, but approximating to 120.

176. Laur. 289 (Evan. 1511) (xiii) ff. 138 (22.2 × 17) col. 1 ll. 28 vell. in poor condition. Evv. tab.-κεφ. amm. ττ. κεφ. lect. σιγ. (αχ, —, βχξ, —). Lc. xxii. 47 *add.* τοῦτο . . . αὐτός ἐστιν.

177. Laur. 290 (Evan. 1512) (xiv) vell. A fragment of Gospels in very bad condition.

178. Laur. 293 (Evan. 1513) (xi-xii) ff. 169 (21.7 × 16.5) col. 1 ll. 23 vell. Mt. xvi. 15-Jo. xix. 4 tab.-κεφ. amm. eus. κεφ. ττ. lect. Lc. xxii. 47 *add.* τοῦτο . . . αὐτός ἐστιν.

179. Laur. 294 (Evan. 1514) (xi) ff. 261 (22 × 17.6) col. 1 ll. 20 vell. Evv. tab.-κεφ. amm. eus. ττ. κεφ. lect. subs. σιγ. (βχ, αχ, βω, βτ). Lc. xxii. 43, 44 marked as doubtful. Lc. xxii. 47 *add.* τοῦτο . . . αὐτός ἐστιν. Jo. v. 3, 4 marked with ✕. *adult.* marked with ÷.

180. Laur. 295 (Evan. 1515) (xiii) ff. 164 (22.5 × 17.5) col. 2 ll. 26-7 vell. Evv. amm. ττ. lect. syn. men. *adult. om.* but *add.* m. s. in mg.

181. Laur. 296 (Evan. 1516) (xiv) vell. Theophylact with text of Gospels in places.

182. Laur. 298 (Evan. 1517) (? date) ff. 265 (21.6 × 15.7) col. 1 ll. 20 vell. Mt. vii. 13-Jo. xiii. 13 tab.-κεφ. ττ. κεφ. subs. σιγ. *adult.* marked as doubtful. Lc. xxii. 47 *add.* τοῦτο . . . αὐτός ἐστιν in mg.

183. Laur. 320 (Evan. 1518) (xi) ff. 410 col. 2 ll. 29-31 vell. Evv. act. cath. paul. apoc. prol. tab.-κεφ. harm. lect. subs. ἀναγν. σιγ. syn. men. *adult.* marked as doubtful. Lc. xxii. 47 *add.* τοῦτο . . . αὐτός ἐστιν. We thought that this might be Evan. 1072.

184. Laur. 340 (Evan. 1519) (xiii-xiv in our opinion, but Father Chrysostom thought it was earlier) ff. 179 (25.5 × 19) col. 2 ll. 26 vell. Evv. tab.-κεφ. amm. eus. ττ. κεφ. lect. syn. men. musical notes. Lc. xxii. 44 marked with ✕.

185. Laur. 341 (Evan. 1520) (xi) ff. 80 (23.7 × 18.5) col. 1 ll. 22 vell. Lc. vi. 7-Jo. tab.-κεφ. amm. ττ. κεφ. subs. σιγ. *adult. om.*

186. Laur. 350 (Evl. 1117) vell.

187. Laur. 359. Commentary of Chrysostom. vell.



**III.**

**THE PLACE OF THE PESHITTO VERSION  
IN THE APPARATUS CRITICUS OF THE  
GREEK NEW TESTAMENT**

**[G. H. Gwilliam, B.D.]**





## SYNOPSIS

DISCOVERIES and hypotheses in connexion with Syriac Biblical Texts require a fresh consideration of the place of the Peshitto in New Testament criticism. The following pages will supplement the essay in *Studia Biblica* iii on the materials for the criticism of the Peshitto Text.

Circumstances connected with the recent edition of the *Tetraeuangelium Syriacum*, pp. 192, 193.

The evidence of the Peshitto is important only so far as it is an independent witness to the Greek Text, p. 193.

- I. Relation of the Peshitto to cod. A and the Cursives.
  1. Preliminary test in the Four Gospels, pp. 194, 195.
  2. Contents of Peshitto MSS., p. 195.
  3. Definition of 'Traditional Greek Text,' pp. 196, 197.
  4. Examination of the text of the Peshitto in St. Matt. i-xiv, pp. 197-207.
  5. Summary of the evidence of the Peshitto, pp. 207, 208.
- II.
  1. Readings of the Peshitto which agree neither with those of cod. B, nor with the Traditional Text, p. 209.
  2. Such readings collected from St. Matt. i-xiv, pp. 210-217.
  3. Results, pp. 217, 218.
  4. The existence of these readings shows:—
    - a. Either that the Cursives embody many peculiar readings, which full collation would bring to light, p. 218.
    - b. Or that the Peshitto is the sole witness to such readings, p. 219.
- III. It is admitted that the Peshitto Text:—
  1. Was universally received in the Syriac Church,
  2. Is fully attested by manuscript evidence,
  3. Was never superseded, p. 220.

4. But as regards the use of the Peshitto by Syriac writers :—
  - a. Aphraates quoted a different Text, p. 221.
  - b. The evidence of Ephraim has been claimed for the Peshitto ;  
Mr. Burkitt's opinion ; pp. 221-222.  
Witness of other Syriac writers, p. 222.
- IV. 1. Two problems :—(1) the antiquity, (2) the value of the Peshitto, p. 223.
2. The Peshitto is an independent witness to the text of the Gospels, but is not the 'sheet-anchor' of the Traditional Text, p. 224.
- V. Demonstration that the evidence of the Peshitto is not necessary to the Traditional Text, for that is sufficiently attested by other witnesses ; Examples ; Results ; pp. 225-229.  
The evidence for the true text of the Greek Testament, pp. 229, 230.
- VI. Considerations in view of conjectures as to the history of the Syriac Version, or Versions, pp. 231, 232. .

The suggestion that Rabbula was the author of the Peshitto agrees with some facts and statements, but is :—

1. Not adequately attested in Syriac history, p. 232.
2. Leaves unexplained the disappearance of the pre-Peshitto Text, p. 232.
3. Does not account for the universal acceptance of the Peshitto in the fifth century, p. 233.

If Mr. Burkitt's theory be accepted, it follows that the Peshitto :—

1. Was published in its present form before A.D. 435, p. 233.
2. Represents readings of ancient Greek MSS. no longer extant, pp. 233-234.
3. Is the authorized text of an important part of the Catholic Church, p. 235.

Thus the new theory, if it could be accepted, would be found to have enhanced the value of the Peshitto, by giving it a date and an origin, while modifying its position in the Apparatus Criticus of the Greek New Testament.

## THE PLACE OF THE PESHITTO VERSION IN THE APPARATUS CRITICUS OF THE GREEK NEW TESTAMENT

The third volume of *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica* contained an essay by the present writer entitled *The Materials for the Criticism of the Peshitto New Testament*. During the eleven years which have elapsed since the publication of that volume, advance has been made in our knowledge of the Syriac texts current amongst the Syriac-speaking Christians of the early centuries of our era. An event of no small importance was the discovery and publication of the Lewis Palimpsest of the Syriac Gospels<sup>1</sup>. Expectations long cherished by New Testament critics seemed now on the point of realization. The solitary position of the Curetonian had presented grave difficulties in accounting for its origin. It was hoped that the Lewis MS. would be a powerful supporter of the Curetonian Text. It was hailed as a second witness to the 'Old Syriac.' Much disappointment however has followed the examination of the Lewis Text. It has been found that it so lends its authority now to the Curetonian, now to the Peshitto, that its presence adds to the confusion of the position.

Again, Mr. Burkitt has traversed the opinion<sup>2</sup>, which was commonly held, that St. Ephraim used the Peshitto Version, and has argued, after re-examination of his works, that in many passages he quotes a different text. Lastly, the publication last year of the text of the Holy Gospels (which comprise about half of the Peshitto New Testament<sup>3</sup>) from the materials described in my former essay, has placed the Peshitto Text in its earliest form (as far as the evidence goes) in the hands

<sup>1</sup> *The Four Gospels in Syriac transcribed from the Sinaitic Palimpsest*, 1894.

<sup>2</sup> *Texts and Studies*, vol. vii. No. 2, 'St. Ephraim's Quotations from the Gospels,' by F. Crawford Burkitt.

<sup>3</sup> The Peshitto Canon does not include 2 Peter, 2, 3 John, Jude, Revelation.

of scholars<sup>1</sup>. 'The time has come for determining the position of the Peshitto in the *Apparatus Criticus* of the New Testament, especially in view of the theory which has recently been broached by Mr. Burkitt<sup>2</sup> as to the origin and history of the great Syriac Version.

The pages which follow will form an Appendix to the edition of the Peshitto Text, as the former essay served for a Prolegomenon to it. The circumstances which have led an author to investigations resulting in the production of his book are, as a rule, of no importance for the reader. In the present case they would certainly not be mentioned by me, were it not for an insinuation made by one of my reviewers<sup>3</sup>. His words are:—

'We even venture to doubt whether Mr. Gwilliam would have spent these laborious years<sup>4</sup> over the restoration of the great version to its first form if he had not been so deeply involved in the struggle' [between two rival Schools of Criticism].

No such doubt is to be entertained. Some remarks in an early edition of Scrivener's *Introduction*, read long ago, suggested the need of a revision of the printed text of the Peshitto. Several years after an opportunity was afforded of residing in London and collating Syriac MSS. in the British Museum. Subsequently a Prospectus was put out, and, at the suggestion of various scholars, other collations were made. These were wholly superfluous as regards the evidence of the Peshitto to the Greek Text of the New Testament, and exceeded the limits of P. E. Pusey's design; but the work which has been published is intended to serve as a book of reference not only in questions of reading, but also in many

<sup>1</sup> *Tetraeuangelium Sanctum* (Pusey et Gwilliam), Oxonii, MDCCCCL.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 2, 57.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. J. Rendel Harris in *The London Quarterly Review*, January, 1902, p. 100, foot. I recognize and thank him for his courteous remarks about the execution of the work; but the greater part of his review is occupied by a criticism of the views of Burgon and Miller and those who agree with them.

<sup>4</sup> We are credited with having bestowed more years upon the *Tetraeuangelium* than we can claim to have so spent. For such a period we ought to have more to show. The truth is, my predecessor and I made our collations as opportunity served for visits to libraries. After I took up the work, I often laid it aside, sometimes for many months together, while engaged in other studies and occupations.

details of Syriac grammar and language, some of which, being derived from documents hitherto uncollated, are now offered for the first time to Oriental scholars. There seems to be no need to treat the text of the rest of the Syriac Testament in the same exhaustive fashion; but I do not regret that for the most important part—the Four Holy Gospels—the evidence for our readings has been collected from all quarters, and stated in full. Time has not been misspent, since the hours have served for an exhaustive and final survey of a field hitherto unexplored. No doubt can hereafter be entertained of the character and contents of the great version in common use in the Syriac Church. We have also made some advance towards a revision of the text of the other books of the New Testament. For these, the amount of diplomatic evidence is not nearly so great. Many questions concerning punctuation and vocalization have already been settled in editing the Gospels. The careful collation of a few very ancient and accurate MSS. of the Acts and the Epistles would complete the work and provide ample attestation of the text to be finally adopted.

In the present essay an attempt will be made to determine the position of the Peshitto in New Testament criticism. We shall follow up the lines of evidence now available as to the nature and history of the Peshitto Text. We shall inquire, what is its right and authority to speak and testify to the readings of the Greek Testament, before we admit it into the witness-box. If the Peshitto Version merely reproduces the Traditional Greek Text in a Syriac dress, it is worth no more than any ordinary Greek copy, and of these we already possess a multitude. If the Edessene and the Constantinopolitan readings are borne on streams of independent derivation, then, when they agree, the Greek Text, which they support, can certainly claim a very high degree of attestation. But if these readings are derived from the same immediate source, the evidence for them is not twofold because spoken in two languages. It is only the reiterated testimony of one class of witnesses.

## I.

1. It seems to be commonly assumed that the text of the Peshitto represents in Syriac the Greek readings of codex A and the majority of Greek MSS., as distinguished from those of codex B and such authorities as side with it. The opinion expressed in Miller's *Scrivener*<sup>1</sup> may be placed beside that of Westcott and Hort, who say . . . 'it was perceived that the Vulgate Syriac Version differed from early Versions generally, and from other important early documentary authorities, in the support which it frequently gave to the common late Greek Text<sup>2</sup>.' We will subject these opinions to the test of our own independent examination.

We may begin with the testimony of the Peshitto in a collection of passages from the Four Gospels, which will be found in an Appendix to the Edition of the Greek Testament, issued by the Clarendon Press in 1889<sup>3</sup>. Some of the passages there given were intended to afford examples of readings, which have no relation to our present inquiry. They are places in which there is no opposition between the mass of copies and codex B; or, where the Syriac idiom conveys no information about the variation in the Greek Text. It must also be remembered that, as far as the Peshitto is concerned, they are an arbitrary and disconnected series, and do not afford an adequate view of the text as a whole. Still, they will serve our purpose for a preliminary notice, and they yield the following results:—

In St. Matthew the mass of copies are supported by the

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii. p. 300.

<sup>2</sup> *The New Testament in the Original Greek*. Introduction, § 188.

<sup>3</sup> *Novum Testamentum. Accedunt Tres Appendices*. The text of the Oxford Edition by Bishop Lloyd in 1827 has been revised by Dr. Sanday, who has added the Appendix *Delectus Lectionum notatu dignissimarum*, of which we have made use.

Peshitto in thirty-six places, and cod. B, with, or without, the consent of some other authorities, in six places.

In St. Mark the numbers are twenty-one and one respectively.

In St. Luke twenty-five and five.

In St. John twenty-two and five.

Thus we find that what is confessedly a superficial and inadequate view, seems to confirm the common opinion, to which we have adverted. Perhaps that opinion arose from partial and insufficient investigations. We will therefore pursue the inquiry more exhaustively.

2. We note first that a Peshitto MS. of the New Testament contains less than a Greek copy<sup>1</sup>. The Canon was limited to the Holy Gospels, the Acts with 1 Peter, James, and 1 John attached, the fourteen Epistles of St. Paul. Next we find that the text of the Gospels exhibits, in all Peshitto MSS., some marked divergencies from the Traditional Greek Text. The story of the woman taken in adultery is absent from St. John, the latter part of Matt. xxvii. 35, *that it might be fulfilled, &c.*, and the Blessing of the Cup in Luke xxii. 17, are omitted, while to Matt. xxviii. 18 are added the words *and as my Father sent me, I also send you*.

From this survey of the character of the Peshitto in broad outline, we must pass to a more minute examination of the text. It will indeed be impossible to effect an exhaustive examination within the limits of the present essay, but passages can be examined, which will afford specimens, fully sufficient in number and importance, of the character of the translation as a whole. We will take the first fourteen chapters of St. Matthew. They occupy about one-eighth of the

<sup>1</sup> See *The Materials, &c., Studia Biblica*, iii. p. 53 n<sup>2</sup>, p. 57 n. Most of the extant Syriac Biblical MSS. are copies of the Gospels only. Of the forty-two copies employed in the recently published *Tetraeuangelium*, only five, Nos. 12, 16, 17, 33, and 42, contain the Peshitto New Testament complete.

A clear and sufficient account of the MSS. of the Peshitto New Testament, known to be extant in different libraries, is given by Dr. Gregory in the third and supplemental volume of Tischendorf's *Novum Testamentum Graece*; see cap. ix, c, pp. 828-851.



text of the Four Holy Gospels in the Peshitto—a substantial portion; and in comparing the Syriac translation of them with the Greek original, we have the assistance of the first division of Part I of Prebendary Miller's *Textual Commentary upon the Holy Gospels*<sup>1</sup>. This portion of the great work, which Miller planned, but did not live to finish, consists of the fourteen chapters, which we propose to examine. In all places, where the rival schools of criticism differ in the readings which they prefer, the evidence of Manuscripts, Versions, and Fathers is set forth, fully and impartially, by the lamented author; but it was not part of his design to quote readings, which have never been adopted by any of the leading critics; we must therefore supplement Miller's annotations by those given in Tischendorf's *Novum Testamentum*, in order to discover how far the Traditional Greek Text is supported by the Peshitto, and in what readings the latter agrees with the text of codex B.

3. Here we wish to state distinctly that by the 'Traditional Greek Text' of the New Testament, we mean the text which has been handed down to us by and in the Catholic Church, and which is contained in the mass of copies and is attested by ecclesiastical writers<sup>2</sup>. We do not necessarily mean the 'Textus Receptus.' Everybody knows that the latter is only a text, found in a particular edition, to which this title was assigned by the editor. This text has no authority whatever beyond that of the few MSS., on which it ultimately rests<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *A Textual Commentary upon the Holy Gospels largely from the use of materials, and mainly on the Text, left by the late John William Burgon, B.D., by Edward Miller, M.A., 1899.*

<sup>2</sup> See *The Traditional Text of the Holy Gospels vindicated and established*, Burgon and Miller, 1896, p. 5 and passim; *Revision Revised*, p. 269 (xiii), with which compare p. 21, note 2. Miller indeed (op. cit. *Introduction*, p. vii) sets the *Textus Receptus* in contrast to the texts of Tischendorf and others, but that he recognized that it possessed no inherent authority is clear from the words used in the *Introduction* to the *Traditional Text*, p. 5. The paragraph is from his pen, not Burgon's.

<sup>3</sup> The editions issued by the Elzevirs, of one of which the editor says 'textum habes ab omnibus receptum'—whence the familiar appellation—are practically identical with the earlier editions of Stephens, and therefore rest on the MSS. Stephens employed. These MSS., for the most part, exhibited the readings which belong to the Traditional Greek Text. See more in Scrivener's *Introduction*, ed. 4, vol. ii. chap. vii.

If, as in truth is the case, it coincides to a very large extent with the Traditional Greek Text, this fact alone, not the name 'Receptus,' imparts any weight, or importance, to its readings. Yet in the heat of the controversy which followed the publication of *The Revision Revised* opponents were heard to sneer at the late Dean Burgon, as though he quoted the *Textus Receptus*—or, which is practically the same thing, Lloyd's Greek Testament—as an authority<sup>1</sup>. Burgon, who had devoted a lifetime to the textual problem, knew better than to show such ignorance. When he quoted the *Textus Receptus*, or *Lloyd*, he did so because those editions give the readings of the Traditional Text of the Catholic Church. So far was he from a superstitious deference to those late forms of text, that he deliberately proposed, and intended to publish, a large number of emendations, in order to bring the current text into harmony with that of the majority of MSS. and the readings of the Fathers<sup>2</sup>.

4. We now proceed with our examination, setting down first the reading of the Traditional Text, then comparing with it the reading of codex B, and noting to which side the support of the Peshitto inclines. In a few cases some other Greek readings are added.

ST. MATTHEW, i-xiv.

Title. Τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον Ἅγιον Εὐαγγέλιον.

Some MSS. Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ματθαίον.

B Κατὰ Ματθαίον.

Pesh. ܡܬܬܝ ܕܡܬܬܝ ܕܡܬܬܝ ܕܡܬܬܝ the Holy Gospel, the Preaching of Mattai.

I. 1. Pesh. ܡܬܬܝ represents Δαυὶδ of the majority, or perhaps Δαυειδ of B &c., but not Δαβιδ of *Textus Receptus*.

5. Βούζ : so Pesh. ܒܘܙ, but B Βοες.

6. Δαυὶδ δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς : Pesh. and B om. ο βασιλεὺς.

7. Ἀσά : so Pesh. ܐܨܐ, but B Ἀσαφ.

<sup>1</sup> Several years afterwards the same charge was brought against the Dean by Dr. Salmon in *Some Thoughts on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, see pp. 3 and 4. For Miller's reply see *The Present State of the Textual Controversy respecting the Holy Gospels*, pp. 24-26.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix to this essay.

10. Ἀμών: so Pesh. ܐܡܘܢ, but B Ἀμως.

15. Μαθάν: Pesh. ܡܬܬܢ seems to represent *Matthan* of B\*<sup>1</sup>.

The evidence of the Peshitto with reference to variations in the spelling of some other names is not adduced, because it is not certain in these cases what forms of the Greek it really supports.

18. Ἡ γέννησις is probably supported by Pesh. ܡܢ ܕܡܬܬܢ ܕܡܬܬܢ ܕܡܬܬܢ; B *γενεσις*.

μνηστευθείσης γάρ: Pesh. and B om. γαρ.

25. Αὐτῆς τὸν πρωτότοκον: so Pesh., but B om.

II. 11. Εἶδον τὸ παιδίον: so Pesh. with B and most, but Text. Recept.<sup>2</sup> and a few authorities εἶπον τ. π.

17. Ὑπὸ Ἱερ.: B and, as it seems, Pesh.<sup>3</sup> *δια*.

18. Θρήνος καὶ κλαυθμός. B om. *θρην. κ.*; Pesh., having only ܡܠܚܡܐ, may be held to support the omission.

19. Κατ' ὄναρ φαίνεται: B *φαίν. κ. ον.*, which is the order of the Peshitto, but is also a natural Syriac order; it is, however, supported by ND and others and the Latin.

21. Ἦλθεν, B *εισηλθεν*. Pesh. here ܠܐ, but at v. 20 ܠܡܠܚܡܐ is used for the compound verb.

23. Ναζαρέτ: Pesh. ܢܙܪܬ, though with different vowels, gives final *θ*, as many uncials and cursives read, against Text. Recept., B<sup>mai</sup> and others.

III. 3. Ὑπό: Pesh. as it seems *δια* (see ii. 17), so B.

6. Ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ: B and Pesh. add *ποταμῷ*.

7. Τὸ βάπτισμα αὐτοῦ: B om. *αυτου*; so Pesh., but seems to have read *ερχομενους βαπτισθηται*, cp. Luke iii. 12.

11. Βαπτίζω ὑμᾶς is the order of Pesh. against B; but being the natural order of the Syriac it is, perhaps, not clear evidence of reading.

12. Ἀποθήκην: Pesh. and B add *αυτου*.

14. B omits Ἰωάννης, Pesh. reads as the majority.

16. Καὶ βαπτισθεῖς: Pesh. and B *βαπτισθεις δε*.

Εἰθὺς ἀνέβη is the order in B and Pesh. B omits *αὐτῷ*, which is found in the majority and Pesh.

IV. 3. Καὶ προσελθὼν αὐτῷ ὁ πειράζων εἶπεν. Pesh. omits *αυτω*, and reads *ειπεν αυτω* with B &c.

5. Ἰστησιν: Pesh. probably *εστησεν* as B.

9. Ταῦτα πάντα σοι δώσω: so Pesh. against B.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. ܡܬܬܢ for *Matthar*, Luke iii. 24.

<sup>2</sup> See preceding page.

<sup>3</sup> Versions, including the Syriac, cannot be relied on for evidence in all cases as to the particular preposition in the Greek original, but the Peshitto seems usually to have rendered *ὑπὸ* by ܡܠܚܡܐ, and *διὰ* by ܕܐ, or ܡܠܚܡܐ.

10. Ὅπίσω μου : Pesh. with B and Text. Recept. omit, against the majority.

12. Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς : so Pesh. ; B om. ο Ἰησους.

13. Here B\* reads Ναζαρε, see ii. 23.

Καπερναούμ in the majority, but ܩܥܨܢܐܘܝܡ in Pesh. corresponds to καφαρναουμ of B.

16. Εἶδε φῶς μέγα ; Pesh. ܠܡܥܠܐ ܕܢܘܪܐ, which seems to represent the order of B.

18. Περιπατῶν δὲ (sine addit.) Pesh. with B and the majority, but Text. Recept. and some cursives add ο Ἰησους.

23. Ὅλην τὴν Γαλιλαίαν : Pesh. ܕܡܬܥܠܡܐ ܕܩܥܨܢܐ, which agrees with εν ολη τη Γαλιλαια, the reading of B ; but Pesh. adds the ο Ἰησους, which B omits.

24. Pesh. has *and* before δαίμονιζομένους, which B omits.

V. 4, 5. Pesh. has the verses in the usual order, which is also that of B and nearly all authorities.

9. Αὐτοὶ υἱοὶ is the reading of the majority and of B, Pesh. seems to omit the αυτοι with ܐܘܬܐ and some others.

11. Ῥῆμα, which B omits, is expressed in Pesh.

Ψευδόμενοι : so Pesh. with B and nearly all authorities.

13. Βληθῆναι ἔξω, καὶ καταπ. : so Pesh. ܠܬܠܝܬܐ ܕܥܕܝܐ, but perhaps the idiom would hardly allow another rendering. B βληθεν ἐξω, om. και.

22. Εἰκῇ : so Pesh. and the majority ; B omits.

25. Ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ μετ' αὐτοῦ. Pesh., in the order of B, μετ' αυτου εν τη οδω. Pesh. has the second σε παραδῶ, which B omits.

27. Pesh. with B and others omits τοῖς ἀρχαίοις, which Text. Recept. reads.

28. After ἐπιθυμῆσαι B and the majority read αυτην, others αυτης ; some omit ; Pesh. has the pronoun.

30. Βληθῇ εἰς γέενναν : so Pesh. ܠܬܠܝܬܐ ܕܥܕܝܐ ; B εἰς γεενναν απελθη.

31. ܐ in Pesh. probably expresses ὅτι, which B omits.

32. Ὃς ἂν ἀπολύσῃ : B πας ο απολυων, so Pesh.

Ὃς ἂν ἀπολελυμένην γαμήσῃ is exactly expressed in Pesh. ; B ο απολελυμενην γαμησας : a few authorities omit the clause and μοιχαται.

39. Τὴν δεξιάν σου. Pesh. expresses σου, which ܐ and others omit. B reads it with the majority.

44. Εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμᾶς : B om. ; Pesh. ܕܡܬܥܠܡܐ ܕܩܥܨܢܐ, and bless him who curseth you.

Καλῶς ποιεῖτε τοῖς μισοῦσιν ὑμᾶς : B om. ; Pesh. has the words with *and* prefixed. T. R. and a few cursives τοὺς μισοῦντας.

Τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς, καί : so Pesh. ; B om.

47. Φίλους in the majority, Pesh. and B ἀδελφους.

Τελῶναι : so Pesh. ; B ἐθνικοι.

Οὕτω (or -ως) in the majority, but Pesh. with B το αυτο.

48. Ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς : B ο ουρανιος. Tischendorf quotes the Peshitto for the former, but the evidence is doubtful. Τὸν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, v. 16, and ὁ οὐράνιος, vi. 14, are each rendered by ܡܠܟܐ? ; in neither place is there any variation in the Greek.

VII. 1. Ἐλεημοσύνην of the majority (not B) is almost certainly intended by Pesh. ܠܗܝܬܐ, the regular word for ἐλεημοσύνη. δικαιοσύνη is rendered by ܠܡܠܟܐ.

4. Pesh. reads with the majority αὐτὸς before ἀποδώσει, and the concluding words ἐν τῷ φανερώ. B omits both.

5. Προσέυχη, ἔση : so Pesh. with the majority against B.

Ὅτι ἀπέχουσι. Pesh. has ? = σι, but it may be inserted idiomatically ; B om.

6. Ἐν τῷ φανερώ : so Pesh. as majority ; B om.

12. Ἀφίμεν. Pesh. ܡܠܟܐ, ἀφήκαμεν, as B.

13. Pesh. has the Doxology with the majority against B, but omits ἀμήν according to the best MSS.

15. Τὰ παραπτώματα αὐτῶν om. Pesh. and a few against majority with B.

16. Pesh. has ? = σι : see ver. 5 ; B om.

18. Ἐν τῷ φανερώ, added by Text. Recept., though not part of the Traditional Text, is omitted by Pesh. with B and the majority.

20. Οὐδέ : so Pesh. and the majority, but N and Curet. και.

21. Ὑμῶν . . . ὑμῶν : so Pesh. ; B σου . . . σου.

22. Ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς Pesh. with the majority ; B adds σου.

Ἐὰν οὖν Pesh. and majority, including B ; N and Curet. omit.

24. Μαμμωνᾶ Text. Recept., mcst MSS. μαμωνα, so Pesh.

25. Καὶ τί πίνετε : so Pesh. with the majority ; B and others η τι π., N and others om.

32. Pesh. with the majority reads οὐράνιος, which is omitted by N, Old Latin and Curetonian. The Lewis palimpsest is defective in the latter part of ch. vi.

33. Βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ : so Pesh. with the majority ; B om.

VII. 2. Here again (cp. v. 48) Tischendorf quotes Pesh., as though ܡܠܟܐ necessarily represents μετρηθήσεται, the reading of B and the great majority ; but it may stand for the variant ἀντιμετρηθήσεται, cp. ܡܠܟܐ for ἀντικαλέσωσιν, Lk. xiv. 12, where the ἀντι is neglected.

5. Τὴν δοκὸν ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου. This, whether intentionally or not, is the order followed in Pesh. B ἐκ τ. οφ. σ. τ. δοκ.

8. ܐܢܝܢܐ in Pesh. (and so Cur.) seems to express the *pres. anoygetai* of B.

9. Τίς ἐστιν ἐξ ὑ. ἀνθ., ὃν ἐὰν αἰτήσῃ. Pesh. ܐܢܝܢܐ ܐܢܝܢܐ ܐܢܝܢܐ, which implies *εστιν*, but not *ἐάν*; both are omitted by B.

10. Καὶ ἐὰν exactly the ܐܢ of Pesh.; B η και.

12. Pesh. omits οὖν with slight support, against the majority.

13, 14. Ἡ πύλη bis; so Pesh. with majority including B. Westcott and Hort omit.

14. Τί Pesh. and most MSS.; B\* and others *στι*.

15. Pesh. with B omits δὲ after *προσέχετε*.

16. Σταφυλήν: B σταφυλας, for which Tischendorf quotes Pesh.; but the evidence is doubtful, for the pl. ܐܢܝܢܐ may represent the collective force, which σταφυλή often has, see Grimm's (Thayer) and Blomfield's Lexx. to the Gk. T., s. v.

19. Πᾶν, as the majority; but *οὖν* is added by some Greek MSS. and the Curetonian.

24. Ὁμοιώσω αὐτόν. Pesh. reads *ομοιωθησεται* as B.

29. Οἱ γραμματεῖς: Pesh. and B add *αὐτων*. Lachmann with Pesh. against B adds *καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι*.

VIII. 2. Ἐλθὼν of the majority was probably read by Pesh.; cp. rendering of ver. 19, *προσελθὼν* = ܐܢܝܢܐ. B *προσελθων*.

3. Ἦψατο αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἰησοῦς: so Pesh. with the majority; B omits ὁ Ἰησοῦς.

5. Εἰσελθόντι δὲ αὐτῷ. Text. Recept. and a few MSS. with Pesh. against B have τῷ Ἰησοῦ.

Καπερναούμ, see iv. 13.

7. Pesh. om. *καὶ* with B.

8. Λόγῳ: so Pesh. with the majority, including B. Text. Recept. λόγον.

9. Ὑπὸ ἐξουσίαν: so Pesh. with the majority, but B adds *τασσομενος*.

10. Οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ τοσαύτην πίστιν: so Pesh., but B *παρ' οὐδενι τοσ. πισ. εν τ. Ισ.*

13. Καὶ ὥς: Pesh. omits *καὶ* with B.

Ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ: so Pesh.; B om. *αυτου*. Pesh. and the majority (including B) ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ ἐκείνῃ, where Lachmann reads ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας ἐκείνης.

15. Διηκόνει αὐτῷ: so B and the true text of Pesh., but Pesh. Edd. and a few MSS. ܐܢܝܢܐ, *αυτοις*. Greek MSS. are divided.

21. Τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ : so Pesh.; B om. αὐτου.

25. Οἱ μαθηταί : B om., Pesh. ܘܝܘܠܕܝܬܐ, *his disciples*.

Ἡμᾶς : so Pesh.; B om.

27. Ὑπακούουσιν αὐτῷ is also the order of Pesh.; B transposes.

28. Γεργεσηνῶν : Γαδαρηνων B, so Pesh.

29. B om. Ἰησοῦ, against Pesh.

31. Ἐπίτρεψον : so Pesh.; B αποστειλον.

32. Pesh. ܝܠܕܝܬܐ, *eis tous choirous*, as B.

IX. 2. Ἀφείνεται, *perfect*, see Winer's Gr., xiv. 3 a. Pesh. ܡܢܗܡܐ is possibly the *present* αφιενται as B, but cp. the various Syriac renderings at Lk. vii. 43, 47, 48.

Σοι αἱ ἁμαρτίαι σου in the majority, so Pesh., B σου αἱ αμαρτιαι.

4. Ἰδὼν in the majority, B and Pesh. εἰδως.

Ὑμεῖς ἐνθυμείσθε : Pesh. omits ὑμεῖς with B.

5. Pesh. perhaps supports αφιενται, see ver. 2.

Σου in B and the majority; Pesh. ܕܝܢܝܐ, as Text. Recept.

6. Ἐγερθεῖς : B εγειρε, for which Tischendorf quotes Pesh., where ܡܠܟܐ ܦܪܥ certainly favours the reading of B, but may be only due to the Syriac idiom.

8. Ἐθαύμασαν : B εφοβηθησαν, so Pesh.

11. Εἶπον : Pesh. ܕܝܥܝܢ, *dicunt*, represents (perhaps) ελεγον of B, but a well supported v.l. is ܕܝܬܝܪܝܢ, *dixerunt*. There are some variations of order in the Greek of the second clause : Pesh. agrees with the majority and B.

12. Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἀκούσας εἶπεν αὐτοῖς : so Pesh.; B om. Ἰησους and αυτοῖς.

13. Εἰς μετάνοιαν : B and Pesh. omit.

14. Νηστεύομεν πολλά : so Pesh.; B om. πολλα.

17. Ἀπολοῦνται : Pesh. ܕܝܬܝܪܝܢ, in the same form as the two preceding verbs, seems to express the *present* απολλυνται of B.

18. Εἰς ἐλθών. Pesh. has [ܕܝܬܝܪܝܢ] ܕܝܬܝܪܝܢ [ܕܝܬܝܪܝܢ] ܕܝܬܝܪܝܢ; by comparison of the rendering of viii. 2, it may be inferred that the translator read *eis προσελθων*, the reading of B, or, perhaps, *τις προσ*.

Λέγων : Pesh. omits ܐܝܬܝ, which is read in the majority and B.

22. Pesh. has the Ἰησοῦς, which Tischendorf with B omits.

23. Λέγει αὐτοῖς : B ελεγεν, omitting αυτοῖς : Pesh. ܕܝܬܝܪܝܢ, which seems to represent *ελεγεν αυτοῖς*.

26. Pesh. with the majority has αὕτη.

32. Ἀνθρωπον κωφόν : Pesh. ܕܝܬܝܪܝܢ, omitting *ανθρωπον* as B.

33. [Ὅτι] οὐδέποτε : Pesh. ܕܝܬܝܪܝܢ, without ܐܝܬܝ, certainly favours the omission of *οτι* in the majority of MSS., including B.

34. This verse is contained in Pesh., as in almost all authorities, including B.

35. Ἐν τῷ λαῷ: B and Pesh. omit.

36. Ἑσकुλμένοι: so most MSS. and B, but Pesh. ܡܠܟܝܢ seems to represent *εκκληνυμενοι* of other MSS. and Text. Recept.

X. 2. Καὶ Ἰάκωβος: Pesh. with B; the majority omit *καὶ*.

3. Λεββαῖος ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Θαδδαῖος: so Pesh., but B omits *Λεββ. ο ἐπικληθ.*

4. Κανανίτης. Pesh. ܟܢܢܝܬܝܬܝܬܝܬ represents *καναναιος* of B.

8. Before or after *λεπ. καθαρ.*, B, Text. Recept., and others insert *νεκρους εγειρετε*; so Pesh. (ed. Schaaf.), but the MSS. omit.

10. Ῥάβδους: thus many uncials and cursives, but Pesh. ܡܚܒܝܬܝܬܝܬܝܬܝܬ sing. with B and others.

Ἔστιν is expressed by Pesh., B omits.

12. Pesh. as B and the rest, without the addition in *κ* and the Latin.

14. Ἐξερχόμενοι: so Pesh., cp. the rendering of Mark xi. 19; B adds *ἐξω*.

Τὸν κονιορτὸν τ. ποδ. in B and the majority; Pesh. ܡܠܟܝܬܝܬܝܬܝܬܝܬ represents *τ. κον. εκ τ. ποδ.* of *κ* and Latin, cp. the rendering of Acts xiii. 51.

19. Δοθήσεται γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ τί λαλήσετε (or *-ητε*): so Pesh. and B; a few omit.

23. For *ἀλλῃ* or *ἐτέραν* the evidence of the Peshitto is uncertain; the same Syriac is sometimes used for the former, sometimes for the latter, cp. Matt. iv. 21 and vi. 24.

33. Pesh. seems to confirm *αὐτὸν κάγω* of the majority; B *καγω αὐτον*.

XI. 2. Δύο τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ: B (with Pesh.) *δια τ. μαθ. αντ.*

5. Καὶ before *χωλοί, κωφοί, and πτωχοί*, which some omit, is found in Pesh., also before *νεκροι* with B and others, but against the majority.

8. Ἐν μαλακοῖς ἱματίοις: B omits *ηματιοις*, also *εἰσὶν* at the end of the verse. Pesh. reads both.

9. Ἰδεῖν; *προφήτην*; so Pesh., but B has *προφητην ιδειν*;

10. Οὗτος γάρ: so Pesh., but B omits *γαρ*. Pesh. has *ὅς κατασκενάζει* with B and the majority.

15. Ἀκούειν, which B omits, is read by Pesh.

16. Ἐν ἀγοραῖς καθημένοις: Pesh. has *καθημενοις* first, as B, and reads *εν [τῇ] αγορα* as D and some cursives.

Τοῖς ἐταίροις αὐτῶν: so Pesh. as Text. Recept. against B.



17. Ἐθρηνήσαμεν ὑμῖν : so Pesh. ; B omits ὑμιν.  
 19. Τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς : B τ. εργαυ. αυ., and so Pesh.  
 21. Χοραζὶν and Βηθσαϊδὰ are favoured by Pesh. ; B Χοραζειν, Βηθσαιδαν.

σποδῶ : καθήμενοι, which is added in κ and others, is not in Pesh.

23. Καπερναούμ : see note on iv. 13.

καταβιβασθήσῃ : so Pesh. with the majority ; B καταβησῃ.

γενόμεναι ἐν σοί : this is the order of Pesh., but B εν σοι γεν.

ἔμειναν : B εμεινεν, and Pesh. has fem. sing. in agreement with Sodom.

26. Ἐγένετο εὐδοκία : this is the order of Pesh., but B has ευδοκια εγεν.

**XII.** 3. Ἐπέινασε : so the majority with B and Pesh., but some add αυτος.

For Δαυὶδ see note on i. 1.

4. Ἐφαγεν : so Pesh. with the majority, but B εφαγον.

Οὗς : Pesh. sing., as B, but ~~bread~~, bread, for ἄρτους precedes.

8. τοῦ σαββάτου : so Pesh. with the majority, but Text. Recept. and some cursives prefix και.

10. Ἦν : so the majority ; B omits ; Pesh. and others ην εκεί.

11. Τίς ἔσται : ~~قوله~~ recognizes an εσται [or εστι], which a few omit, against the majority, including B.

14. Οἱ δὲ Φαρισαῖοι συμβούλιον ἔλαβον κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐξελθόντες in the majority, but B and Pesh. transpose ἐξελθ. δε οι Φαρ. συμβ. ελ. κ. αυτ.

15. Ὅχλοι was read by Pesh. ; B omits.

22. Προσηνέχθη αὐτῷ δαιμονιζόμενος τυφλὸς καὶ κωφός : so the majority, but B and Peshitto προσηνεγκαν αυτω δαιμονιζομενον τυφλον και κωφον.

Ὡστε τὸν τυφλὸν καὶ κωφόν : so the majority, but Pesh. and a few transpose τ. κωφ. κ. τυφ. και λαλ. : B omits τ. τυφ. και and και before λαλειν : Pesh. omits the latter και, but the construction is different.

25. B and others omit ὁ Ἰησοῦς : Pesh. read it with the majority.

27. Ὑμῶν ἔσονται κριταί : the order of the majority, with which Pesh. ~~قوله~~ agrees. B κριται εσ. υμ.

28. Ἐν Πνεύματι Θεοῦ ἐγώ, the order of the majority, including B ; so Pesh. ; many cursives εγω εν Πνευματι Θεου.

31. Τοῖς ἀνθρώποις at the end of the verse is omitted by B but read by Pesh.

32. Ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι in the majority, B τουτω τω αιωνι : Pesh.

seems to have had *τω αιωνι τουτω*, as a few MSS. read, but *ܐܘܢ ܕܠܕܢ* stands for *ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι*, Titus ii. 12; cp. 2 Tim. iv. 10.

35. *Θησαυροῦ*: so the majority with B and Pesh.; others add *της καρδιας*.

38. *Ἀπεκρίθησαν*: B adds *αὐτω*: Pesh. *ܐܘܬܐܪ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ . . . ܐܘܬܐܪ*, *απεκριθησαν . . . λεγοντες αὐτω*.

*Καὶ Φαρισαίων*: so Pesh., B omits.

40. *Ἔσται*: Pesh., as the majority, without *καὶ* following, which is added by D.

44. *Ἐπιστρέψω εἰς τὸν οἶκόν μου* is also the order of Pesh., but B has *εἰς τ. οἰκ. μ. επιστρεψω*.

46. *Ἔτι δὲ . . . ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ*. B omits *δε*, *℣<sup>b</sup>* omits *αυτου*, Pesh. read both.

47. Pesh. has this verse, which B omits.

**XIII.** 1. *Δέ, ἀπό*: B omits; Pesh. read *δε*, and *απο*, or *εκ*.

9. *Ἀκούειν*: so Pesh., B omits.

11. *Ἐἶπεν αὐτοῖς*: so Pesh. with B and the majority. *℣* omits *αυτοῖς*.

14. *Αὐτοῖς* in the majority; Pesh. had *επ' αυτοῖς*, as D and others, or *εν*, the reading of a few MSS.

15. *Τοῖς ὡσί* in the great majority, but Pesh. read *τοῖς ὡσιν αυτων* bis, which has little support.

16. *Τὰ ὄσα ὑμῶν*: so Pesh.; B omits *υμων*.

17. Pesh. read *γάρ*, which *℣* and a few omit.

22. *Τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου*: so Pesh.; B omits *τουτου*.

23. *Τὴν γῆν τὴν καλὴν*: this is the order of Pesh., but it is the natural order of the Syriac. B and others *την καλην γην*.

24. *Σπείροντι*: Pesh. *ܥܒܕܝܢ* is the *σπείραντι* of B.

28. *Οἱ δὲ δοῦλοι*: so Pesh.; B omits.

31. Pesh. as the majority with B; *ελαλησεν* for *παρέθηκεν* in D and others.

33. *Αὐτοῖς*: *℣* and others add *λεγων*: Pesh. as the majority.

34. *Οὐκ*: *℣* without *ܡܕܢܐ* almost proves that Pesh. read *ουκ*, and not *ουδεν* of B and others.

35. *Προφήτου*: so Pesh., *℣* adds *Ησαιου*.

*Κόσμου*: B omits, Pesh. reads it.

36. *Ὁ Ἰησοῦς*: B omits; Pesh. has it after *τότε* at the beginning of the verse.

*Φράσον*: B *διασαφησον*: *φρ.* seems to be intended by *ܡܕܢܐ* of Pesh., cp. *ܡܕܢܐ* for *διεσαφησαν* in xviii. 31.

37. Pesh. had αὐτοῖς, which B omits.

40. Τούτου : so Pesh., B omits.

43. Ἀκούειν : so Pesh., B omits ; cp. ver. 9.

44. Πάλιν : so Pesh., B omits.

Καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἔχει πωλεῖ : Pesh. omits και, and has the order πωλει π. ο. εχει, which agrees with B's text.

45. Ἀνθρώπῳ ἐμπόρῳ : Pesh. ܐܢܬܪܡܢܐ ܥܡܡܪܐ, B omits ανθρ.

46. Ὃς εὐρών : Pesh. ܡܠܟܐ ܡܥܪܒܐ seems to represent the reading of B ευρων δε.

51. Λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς : Pesh. and the majority ; B omits.

Κύριε : B omits, Pesh. has ܠܒܕܝܢܐ, Our Lord.

52. Εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν : B τη βασιλεια : Pesh. ܠܡܠܟܐ probably represents the former, but it is not certain.

55. Ἰωσῆς : this (or rather Ἰωση) was the reading of Pesh. with the majority. B Ἰωσηφ.

57. Τῇ πατρίδι αὐτοῦ : B omits αυτου. In Pesh. ܡܠܟܐ ܡܥܪܒܐ, ܡ certainly expresses either αυτου, or the v. l. ιδια.

XIV. 3. Pesh. reads αὐτόν, which B omits.

Καὶ ἔθετο ἐν φυλακῇ : this is also the order of Pesh., but might represent the v. l. απεθετο : B has εν φυλακη απεθετο.

4. Αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰωάννης is also the order of Pesh., but B transposes ο I. and αυτ.

6. Γενεσίων δὲ ἀγομένων : B γενεσιouis δε γενομενοις : a few γενεσιων δε γενομενων : Pesh. ܡܠܟܐ ܡܥܪܒܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܥܪܒܐ, which favours some case of γενομενος : cf. the rendering of ἡγον αὐτὴν ἡμέραν by ܠܡܠܟܐ ܡܥܪܒܐ in Esther ix. 17.

9. Pesh. read ἐλυπήθη ὁ βασιλεὺς, διὰ δὲ τοὺς ὄρκους, as the majority ; B λυπηθεις ο β. δια τ. ορ.

12. Ἦραν τὸ σῶμα, καὶ ἔθαψαν αὐτό in the majority ; B πτωμα and αυτον. Pesh. ܡܠܟܐ ܡܥܪܒܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܥܪܒܐ favours πτωμα, and omits αυτο or αυτον, but reads his corpse.

13. Καὶ ἀκούσας : B ακουσας δε, which is supported by Pesh. ܡܥܪܒܐ.

14. Pesh. has ὁ Ἰησοῦς, which B omits.

15. Οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ : so Pesh. ; B omits αυτου.

Ἀπόλυσον : a few authorities add ον, but not Pesh.

18. Αὐτοὺς ὤδε : so Pesh. ; B ωδε αυτους.

19. Λαβών in the majority and B., but Pesh. and a few και λαβων.

22. Καὶ εὐθέως ἠνάγκασεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ. B and others with Pesh. omit Ἰησους. A few omit ευθεως and 8 and several αυτου : Pesh. reads both.

24. Μέσον τῆς θαλάσσης ἦν: so the majority; Pesh. ܠܡܥܝܢܐ ܕܬܗܠܝܬ ܕܩܪܝܒܐ ܕܚܘܬܐ, which agrees with B's reading σταδίου πολλοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀπέχε.

25. 'Απῆλθε in the majority, Β ἡλθε, which seems to be supported by 14 of the Peshitto, for απηλθε is generally rendered by 𐌰𐌹𐌻𐌸.

'Ο Ἰησοῦς, which B omits, is read in Pesh.

26. Καὶ ἰδόντες αὐτὸν οἱ μαθηταί: Β οἱ δὲ μαθηταὶ ἰδόντες αὐτὸν :  
Pesh. as the majority, but reading *his* disciples.

27. Αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς in nearly all MSS.; B ο Ἰησ. αυτοῖς: a few omit ο Ἰησοῦς: Pesh. has *but Jesus at once spake with them.*

28. Αὐτῷ ὁ Πέτρος εἶπε . . . πρὸς σε ἐλθεῖν: B ο Πιερρος ειπεν  
αυτω, ελθω προς σε, which readings correspond to ܐܠܗܝܬܝ ܕܥܡܢ ܩܪܝܬܝܟܝܢ  
ܕܫܡܝܐ . . . ܚܒܝܢ in Pesh.

29. Ἐλθεῖν is represented by 𐤀𐤋𐤊, of Pesh.; B και ηλθεν.

30. Ἄνεμον ἰσχυρόν: B omits ἰσχυρόν, Pesh. reads it.

33. Ἐλθόντες προσεκύνησαν: so Pesh.; B omits ἐλθοντες.

34. Γεννησαρέτ: B, but not Pesh., prefixes εις.

36. Παρεκάλουν αὐτόν : so Pesh.; B omits αὐτον.

5. In examining the character of the Peshitto in fourteen chapters, we have noted the readings of the version in two hundred and forty-three verses or places; but several of these readings have no importance for the purpose in hand. In not a few cases the evidence of the Peshitto is doubtful. In others, where the witness is clear, the Greek readings, which are attested by the Syriac, have no direct connexion with the subject of our inquiry. An instance of the latter class of passages is Matt. ii. 11, where the agreement of the Peshitto with B is of no significance, for the majority of MSS. of all ages supports the same reading, while only a very few have the alternative reading of the Textus Receptus. We exclude therefore the seventy-six following places:—

Title, i. 1; ii. 11, 23; iii. 11; iv. 13 a, 18; v. 4, 5, 9, 11, 13, 27, 28, 31, 39, 48; vi. 5 b, 15, 16, 18, 20, 22 b, 24, 32; vii. 2, 5, 12, 13, 16, 19, 29; viii. 5, 8, 13 b, 15; ix. 2, 5, 6, 11 bis, 18, 22, 26, 33, 34, 36; x. 8, 12, 14 b, 19, 23; xi. 5, 10 b, 16, 21 b; xii. 3, 8, 10, 11, 22 b, 28, 32, 35, 40; xiii. 11, 14, 15, 17, 31, 33, 35, 52; xiv. 15 b, 19, 22.

The remaining one hundred and sixty-seven passages form two groups; (I) those in which the Peshitto supports the readings of the majority of Greek MSS., (II) those in which the Peshitto supports the readings of codex B.

I. i. 5, 7, 10, 18 a, 25; ii. 21; iii. 14, 16; iv. 9, 12, 23, 24; v. 11, 22, 25 b, 30, 32 b, 44 ter, 47 b; vi. 1, 4 bis, 5 a bis, 6, 13, 21, 22 a, 25, 33; vii. 9, 10, 14; viii. 2, 3, 9, 10, 13, 21, 25 bis, 27, 29, 31; ix. 2, 12, 14, 23; x. 3, 10, 14, 33; xi. 8 bis, 9, 10 a, 15, 16, 17, 21, 23 bis, 26; xii. 4, 15, 25, 27, 31, 38, 44, 46, 47; xiii. 1, 9, 16, 22, 23, 28, 34, 35, 36 bis, 37, 40, 43, 44 a, 45, 51 bis, 55, 57; xiv. 3 bis, 4, 10, 14, 15 a, 18, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 33, 34, 36.

II. i. 6, 15, 18 b; ii. 17, 18, 19; iii. 3, 6, 7, 12, 16 bis; iv. 3, 5, 10, 13 b, 16, 23; v. 25 a, 32 a, 47 bis; vi. 12; vii. 8, 9, 15, 24, 29; viii. 5, 7, 13, 28, 32; ix. 4 bis, 5, 8, 13, 17, 18, 32, 35; x. 2, 4, 10; xi. 2, 5, 16, 19, 23 bis; xii. 4, 14, 22 a, 38; xiii. 24, 44 b, 46; xiv. 6, 12, 13, 22, 24, 25, 28.

Several of the verses, which are cited, involve more than one distinct point in the evidence; they are therefore necessarily entered in the summary under more than one head. Some of the verses, which are excluded, may be thought to contain evidence of the connexion of the Peshitto with the majority of the MSS. on the one side, or with cod. B on the other. We have preferred in all cases of doubt to exclude the verse, rather than to seem to overstate the case; but a few instances more or less would make no real difference in the general result, which is as follows:—

In fourteen chapters the readings of the Peshitto are found to support the Traditional Greek Text in one hundred and eight places, and the Text of codex B in sixty-five places—more than half the number.

## II.

1. It is not our intention in this essay to pursue our investigations beyond the Holy Gospels. Questions concerning the value of the evidence of the Peshitto are limited to those books for the present; when *Curetonian Epistles* and a *Lewis Acts* have been discovered, a wider field will be opened up; but the results we have already obtained, and the considerations to follow, are, we think, sufficient in amount and weight to stamp the character of the Peshitto as a whole. These results will by some be received with surprise; yet Westcott and Hort have already said<sup>1</sup>:—

‘Nevertheless the two texts are not identical. In a considerable number of variations the Vulgate Syriac<sup>2</sup> sides with one or other of the Pre-Syrian texts against the Antiochian Fathers and the late Greek text, or else has a transitional reading, which has often, though not always, some Greek documentary attestation.’

The first two assertions in this quotation are, on the whole, confirmed by our examination of the text of Matt. i–xiv. The last assertion is somewhat vague, but appears intended to mean that the Peshitto readings form a connecting link between the texts which the writers call respectively ‘Pre-Syrian’ and ‘Antiochian and late.’ To complete our investigation, we will now collect from the same chapters of St. Matthew those places in which the Peshitto witnesses to independent readings, as distinguished from those in which, as we have already seen, it supports either codex B or the Traditional Greek Text. We will add in each case a com-

<sup>1</sup> *New Test.*, Introd., § 189

<sup>2</sup> By which they mean the Peshitto. As has often been pointed out, this epithet expresses the reception and popularity of this version, but assumes a theory about its origin which is still a subject of discussion.

parison with the Curetonian and the Lewis<sup>1</sup> MSS., and give, where necessary or desirable, confirmatory readings, especially those of D, and the evidence of the Old Latin; but we shall not attempt to exhibit the attestations in full: space would not permit, and the reader can verify our conclusions from the pages of Tischendorf.

## 2. ST. MATTHEW, i-xiv.

I. 20. Om. ἰδοῦ, also ii. 1, and often. As the use of  $\text{ܝܕܘܐ}$ , *lo*, is in accordance with Syriac idiom, it is difficult to believe that a translator would fail to employ the particle, if ἰδοῦ were before him in his Greek MS. Sometimes, but not often—e. g. xii. 49— $\text{ܝܕܘܐ}$ , *lo*, is introduced, where there is no ἰδοῦ in the Greek. Cur. and Lp. omit at i. 20, but at ii. 1 read *and lo*.

23. Μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ Θεός,  $\text{ܡܝܬܐ ܗܡܝܢ ܗܘܐ ܐܠܗܐ}$ , *Our God is with us*, but *our* may be intended to express ὁ. Cur. and Lp. as Pesh., but trans.  $\text{ܕܗܝܠܐ ܥܝܬܐ ܡܝܬܐ ܗܡܝܢ}$ .

25. Ἐγίνωσκεν: Pesh.  $\text{ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܐܝܬܐ ܗܡܝܢ}$ , *ἐγνώσκειν*, the reading of D and the Old Latin. Cur. and Lp. different.

II. 1. Om. ἰδοῦ, see i. 20.

Τῆς Ἰουδαίας,  $\text{ܕܝܘܕܐܝܐ}$ , *Bethlehem of Judah* (so Cur. and Lp.) as ver. 6, and so ver. 5.

5. Om. αὐτῷ: so  $\text{ܐܘܬܐ}$  Chrys. (codd. Moscuenses 3), but not Cur. and Lp.

6. Om. γῆ, Pesh. Cur. Lp.

8. Εἶπεν: Pesh. adds  $\text{ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܐܝܬܐ ܗܡܝܢ}$ , *αὐτοῖς*, with Cur. and Lp. Pesh. has the order π. τ. παιδιον ἀκριβῶς: so Cur.; Lp. omits ἀκριβῶς.

Ἐπὰν δὲ εὑρητε, ἀπαγγείλατέ μοι,  $\text{ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܐܝܬܐ ܗܡܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܐܝܬܐ ܗܡܝܢ}$ , *And when ye have found him, come tell me*. It is doubtful if the translator had *αὐτον*, but probable that he read *δευτε*. Cp. xxviii. 6, where *δεῦτε ἴδετε* is rendered  $\text{ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܐܝܬܐ ܗܡܝܢ}$ . Cur. and Lp. as Pesh.

11. Pesh.  $\text{ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܐܝܬܐ ܗܡܝܢ}$  *σμίρναν και λίβανον*. So Cur. and Lp.

13. Om. ἰδοῦ, see i. 20; so Cur. and Lp.

14. Ὁ δὲ ἐγερθεῖς: Pesh. Cur. Lp. *But Joseph arose*. This is hardly to be reckoned a *v.l.*; probably the name is added for clearness; yet it is supported by Old Latin MSS.

<sup>1</sup> I shall use the symbol *Lp.*, which I employed six years ago when writing in the *Critical Review*, to indicate the palimpsest discovered and published by Mrs. Lewis. Every one calls the companion text the *Curetonian*, after its discoverer. Appellations which tend to confuse the *Sinai Palimpsest* with the *Codex Sinaiticus*, may mislead some readers. S resembles S, the symbol of a tenth century MS.

19. Τοῦ Ἡρώδου: Pesh. Cur. Lp. add τοῦ βασιλέως, having, as it seems, the same reading as in ver. 1, and again omit ἰδού.

21. *Joseph* added, as ver. 14; not Cur. nor Lp.

23. ܡܢ ܡܢܬܐ sing., *the Prophet*, Pesh. Cur. and Lp.

III. 3. Pesh. omits λέγοντος, with slight support. Cur. and Lp. read it.

8. Καρπὸς ἀγίους Pesh. with Cur. and Lp.

10. Ἦδη δέ: Pesh. ܐܝܢ, reading, as it seems, Ἰδὸν δέ. Cur. Lp. ܝܕܥܐ, καὶ ἰδού.

12. Pesh. reads ἅλωνα, σῖτον, and ἀποθήκην as if plurals; Cur. so reads the last two, Lp. the second only. All omit αὐτοῦ after σῖτον.

16. Ἰδού omitted in Pesh., read in Cur. and Lp.

IV. 1. Τοῦ Πνεύματος: Pesh. and Cur. add ܡܚܝܡܐ, ἁγιοσύνης, i. e. ἁγίου, but rather as an explanation than following a different reading. Lp. follows the Greek. All have the order υπο τ. πνευ. εἰς τ. ἐρημον with N K.

15. Pesh. omits καὶ before γῇ, and proceeds ܡܚܝܡܐ ܡܢ ܡܢܬܐ, which certainly looks like a reading ὁδός, for the adverbial sense of the accusative ὁδὸν would require a preposition before ܡܢܬܐ. Cur. and Lp. read καὶ but have ܕܥ as Pesh.

19. Λέγει αὐτοῖς: Pesh. and Cur. add *Jesus*<sup>1</sup>. Ὑμᾶς: Pesh. with D and Old Latin MSS. adds γενεσθαι: not Cur. nor Lp.

20. Δίκτυα: Pesh. adds αὐτων: so Cur. and Lp.

23. Pesh. omits the second πᾶσαν: not Cur. nor Lp.

24. ܡܢ ܡܢܬܐ ܡܢ ܡܢܬܐ ܡܢ ܡܢܬܐ ... ܡܢ ܡܢܬܐ, τοὺς κακῶς ἔχοντας ... καὶ τοὺς βασάνους συνεχομένους, the repetition of ܡܢܬܐ suggesting that Pesh. read τοὺς before βασάνους. Cur. and Lp. are different and diverge from the Greek.

V. 1. Ἰδὼν δέ: Pesh. adds *Jesus*, as iv. 19; not Cur. nor Lp.

11. Pesh. ܡܢ ܡܢܬܐ ܡܢ ܡܢܬܐ ܡܢ ܡܢܬܐ. Three transpositions, as though reading καθ' ὑμῶν πᾶν ῥῆμα πονηρὸν ἔνεκεν ἐμοῦ ψευδόμενοι. ῥῆμα πονηρὸν is the usual Syriac order of noun and adjective, the other two changes are not required by the idiom and certainly suggest a different order in the Greek. Cur. and Lp. have καθ' ὑμῶν in the same position: the former certainly, the latter probably, omits ῥῆμα. Cur. has ψευδόμενοι before ἐν. ἐμ.: Lp. omits it.

<sup>1</sup> It may be said with good reason that this addition is like that of *Joseph* in ii. 14 and 21, but Dr. Sanday treats the addition or omission of *Jesus* in xvi. 21 as a var. lect., see *Append.* p. 107. On the other hand, the case of copies, with which Dr. Sanday was dealing, is different from that of a Version.



12. **ܐܦܝܢ ܕܥܡܝ**, *Then rejoice*, as though reading *τότε χαίρετε*. Not Cur. nor Lp.

17. Old editions of Pesh. omit the second *ἦλθον*. The true text agrees with the Greek, so also do Cur. and Lp.

31. Pesh. Cur. Lp. omit *δέ*.

36. All transpose and add **ܐܘ**, as though reading *ποιῆσαι ἐν αὐτῇ μίαν τρίχα λευκὴν ἢ μέλαιναν*.

37. **ܐܘ ܐܘ** *καὶ οὐ οὐ*, Pesh. Cur. Lp.

44. Pesh. **ܐܘ ܐܘ**? **ܐܘ**, *τῷ καταρωμένῳ ὑμᾶς*, in sing. Cur. and Lp. omit the clause.

45. *Ὅτι*: Pesh. **ܐܘ**, *He who*. Pesh. also transposes *ἀγαθούς καὶ πονηρούς*. In each case P is supported by Cur. Lp. and some Old Latin MSS.

**VI. 1.** *Προσέχετε*: Pesh. (not Cur. nor Lp.) adds *δέ*, with **ܐܘ** and others.

5. *Φιλοῦσιν*: Pesh. and Cur. add *σῆναι*, the Old Latin reading, and omit *ἐστῶτες*. Lp. omits the verse.

17. Pesh. transposes, *Νύχαι τὸ πρόσωπόν σου, καὶ ἄλευσαι τὴν κεφαλὴν σου*. So Cur. Lp. is defective to viii. 3.

18. **ܐܘ**, *αὐτὸς ἀποδώσει σοι*, Pesh., not Cur.

32. *Πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη*: so the true text of the Peshitto, but the old editions and some MSS. add **ܐܘ**, *τοῦ κόσμου*. Cur. adds **ܐܘ**, with the same meaning. *Ὁδὲ γάρ*: Pesh. (not Cur.) *δε*, with slight support.

**VII. 16.** **ܐܘ**, *ἀπὸ δὲ τ. καρ. αὐ.*, Pesh.; Cur. **ܐܘ**, *οὖν*.

**VIII. 2.** **ܐܘ**, *λεπρός τις*, Pesh. and Cur.

3. *Τὴν χεῖρα*: Pesh. adds *αὐτοῦ* with Cur. Lp. and **ܐܘ**.

4. **ܐܘ**, *to the Priests*, pl., Pesh. and Cur. The reading of Lp. is conjectural, and given as sing. by the Editors.

*Τὸ δῶρον*: so Pesh., but a well supported v.l. is **ܐܘ**, *thy gift*. Cur. and Lp. have *the gift*.

5. Pesh. adds *τις*, as ver. 2; so Cur. In Lp. there is a lacuna.

8. Pesh. has **ܐܘ**. The same construction is found in ver. 13. Probably in each case **ܐܘ** stands for the article and does not represent a reading *ἐκεῖνος*. Cur. and Lp. have also **ܐܘ**, but here before the noun, ver. 13 after as Pesh.

12. *Ἐκβληθήσονται*: Pesh. **ܐܘ**, *shall go forth*; so Cur. and Lp. with **ܐܘ**.

14. *Πέτρον*: Pesh. **ܐܘ**, *Σίμωνος*, cp. Mark i. 29 in the Greek. So Cur. and Lp.

16. ܐܠܗܐ, τὰ πνεύματα αὐτῶν, Pesh., but Cur. and Lp. only ܐܠܐ, αὐτά.

23. ܐܡܥܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܥܥ. There is no *Jesus* in the Greek, but see note on ii. 14. Cur. and Lp. are both defective here.

24. Αὐτὸς δέ: Pesh. adds ܐܡܥܐ, *Jesus*, as in the preceding verse; so vers. 26, 28, 32. Cur. is defective to x. 32. Lp. has not the addition, here or below, but is defective in the beginning of ver. 26.

25. Κύριε: Pesh. here, and ix. 28, xiii. 51, has ܕܡܠܟܐ, *Our Lord*, but the difference is rather of idiom than of reading. Lp. agrees with Pesh. Cur. is defective: at xiii. 51 both omit the word.

26. Pesh. and Lp. *the wind* in the singular, with ܐܡܥܐ and others.

27. Pesh. and Lp. omit καὶ before οἱ ἄνεμοι.

29. Pesh. om. ἰδοῦ: cp. note on i. 26.

32. Pesh. omits ἰδοῦ and the second ܡܠܟܐ: so Lp., but there are many differences between the texts.

33. ܐܡܥܐ ܡܠܟܐ, as though reading πάντα τὰ γινόμενα: cp. the Syriac of xviii. 31. Lp. has ܐܡܥܐ, πάντα, but the rest is illegible.

IX. 2. Pesh. om. ἰδοῦ, as viii. 29 above. Lp. is defective, here and the next two verses.

3. Καὶ ἰδοῦ, τινὲς τ. γ.: Pesh. τινὲς δὲ τ. γ.

4. Εἶπεν: Pesh. adds αὐτοῖς, with D and some others.

5. Pesh. seems to have Ἀφ. σοὶ αἱ ἁμαρτίαι σου, reading both σοὶ and σου. Lp. the same. On ἀφένται or ἀφίενται see note on ix. 2, p. 202.

6. Pesh. om. τότε (with M) and has ܡܠܟܐ ܡܥܥ, for which see note on viii. 8. Lp. reads τότε but has ܡܠܟܐ ܡܥܥ.

10. Pesh. omits ἐγένετο and reads αὐτῶν ἀνακειμένων, with ܐܡܥܐ. It also omits καὶ ἰδοῦ. Lp. is defective.

15. For πενθεῖν Pesh. has ܡܠܟܐ, νηστεύειν, with D and Old Latin MSS. Lp. follows the Greek.

16. Pesh. omits δέ: so Lp.

18. Pesh. om. ἰδοῦ. Lp. ܐܡܥܐ, καὶ ἰδοῦ.

19. Pesh. transposes, καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ, reading 3rd pers. pl. as E and some other copies. Lp. follows the Greek.

28. ܡܠܟܐ ܡܥܐ, but perhaps as before (viii. 8) only the article is intended, οἱ τυφλοί. So Lp.

30. ܡܠܟܐ ܡܥܐ, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνέβησαν: so Lp.

32. ܡܠܟܐ ܡܥܐ: ܡܠܟܐ ܡܥܐ, *And as Jesus went forth, they brought.* ἰδοῦ is omitted. Lp. omits ἰδοῦ, but otherwise follows the Greek.

36. Ἰδὼν δέ: Pesh. adds Ἰησοῦς (not Lp.) with some support.

37. Τότε: Pesh. ο, και: Lp. ܡܕܝܢܐ, τότε.

X. 1. Ἐξουσίαν: Pesh. adds κατὰ with E and others, but not Lp. ܐܝܢܐ, και μαλακίαν, πῶσαν being omitted; so Lp.

2. ܐܝܢܐ? ܡܕܝܢܐ? Ἐκείνων δὲ τῶν δώδεκα. In Lp. the sentence is inverted, but there is no ἐκείνων.

4. Pesh. prefixes και to Σίμων, and reads ܣܥܪܝܬܐ, *Scarjuta*; so Lp. Both omit και before παραδούς.

10. Μή: Pesh. and Lp. ܡܕܝܢܐ, μηδέ.

24. Διδάσκαλον: Pesh. adds αὐτοῦ with Lp. and ܐ.

25. Pesh. has always ܒܥܙܒܘܒ, *Belzebub*; so Cur. So also Lp. here; in the other places the MS. is defective.

28. Καὶ before ψυχὴν is omitted by Pesh. and Lp.

30. Pesh. adds ὑμῶν after κεφαλῆς. So apparently Lp., but the wording is different.

XI. 5. Pesh. has και before λεπροί, as well as the other nouns. So Cur. Lp. is defective here.

14. Δέξασθαι: Pesh. ܡܕܝܢܐ, δέξασθε, as E and some cursives, but not Cur. nor Lp.

20. Τότε ἤρξατο: Pesh. adds *Jesus*. So Cur. Lp. is defective.

21. Pesh. prefixes ܡܕܝܢܐ, ܡܕܝܢܐ, and he was saying; Cur. ܡܕܝܢܐ, and he said; Lp. defective.

πάλαι ἂν: Pesh. ܡܕܝܢܐ. The same occurs at Luke x. 13. It looks like a reading δέ, for ἂν is usually passed over in the Syriac rendering. Cur. as Pesh. Lp. is again defective.

24. ܡܕܝܢܐ, λέγω σοι, Pesh., with slight support. Cur. omits the pronoun; Lp. is defective.

XII. 2. Ἰδόντες: Pesh. adds αὐτοὺς with Cur. and Old Latin and some Greek MSS. Lp. is defective to ver. 7.

5. Pesh. om. τοῖς σάββασιν: so Cur.

9. Ἐκεῖθεν: Pesh. adds *Jesus* (not Cur.) with C and some others.

10. Pesh. reads Καὶ ἄνθρωπός τις: see note on i. 20: Cur. has ἰδοὺ and τις.

11. Pesh. and Cur. omit τοῦτο and read κρατεῖ, ἐγείρει, with D and others. Lp. seems also to have the present tense, but is defective.

13. Pesh. Καὶ ἐξέτεινε τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ, and omits ἰγίης. So Cur. and, as it seems, Lp., but the writing is in part defective.

24, 27. See note on x. 25.

30. ܡܕܝܢܐ, ܡܕܝܢܐ, as though they read σκορπίζων σκορπίζει. So Cur. In Lp. the writing is lost.

32. Pesh., with Cur. and Lp., ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι μέλλοντι, but the repetition of the noun is almost required by the idiom.

44. Σεσαρωμένον: Pesh. prefixes και with Cur. Lp. & others.

46. For ἰδοὺ Pesh. has ܐܠܗܐ, ἡλθον. Cur. and Lp. agree with the Greek.

49. Pesh. καὶ, ἰδοὺ, οἱ ἀδελ., repeating ἰδοὺ, which is so often omitted, cp. i. 20. Cur. as Pesh., but Lp. has a different expression.

XIII. 1. ܐܠܗܐ . . . ܐܠܗܐ (cited by Tischendorf) exactly represent ἐξῆλθεν καὶ ἐκάθητο, but participle and finite verb are often resolved into two finites, with or without copula. Lp. here omits *and*, Cur. agrees with Pesh.

10. Pesh. adds αὐτοῦ τοῖς μαθηταῖς, with Cur. Lp. and others.

13. Pesh. ܐܠܗܐ at end of clause, as though reading λαλῶ αὐτοῖς: but inferences from order of words are somewhat doubtful. Cur. and Lp. as Pesh.

18. ܐܠܗܐ, ܐܠܗܐ, τὴν παραβολὴν τοῦ σπέρματος. Cur. and Lp. agree with the Greek.

23. Τὸν λόγον: Pesh. adds μου, ܐܠܗܐ, and has the order ἀκούων τ. λογ. μου. Cur. and Lp. have this order, but not μου. Old Latin q has *verbum meum*.

\*Ὅς δὲ καρποφορεῖ: Pesh. and Cur. ܐܠܗܐ ܐܠܗܐ, which perhaps represents δέ, the reading of Δ, rather than δῆ. Lp. has *and then it yieldeth*, the Old Latin reading.

28. Pesh. (against the majority, but with D and Old Latin) has the order λέγουσιν (not εἰπον) αὐτῷ οἱ δοῦλοι: but it is a natural Syriac order. Cur. and Lp. as Pesh.

29. Οὐ μήποτε: Pesh. ܐܠܗܐ, omitting οὐ, but Cur. and Lp. have it. The negative is implied in either reading.

Pesh. (with slight support) ἅμα αὐτοῖς καὶ (ܐܠܗܐ) τ. σῖτον. Cur. and Lp. transpose, καὶ τ. σῖτον ἅμα αὐτ.

30. Εἰς δέσμας: Pesh. ܐܠܗܐ ܐܠܗܐ, δησ. αὐτα δεσμας: so Cur. Lp. with Old Latin and some Greek MSS.

32. Μείζον τῶν: Pesh. μ. πάντων τῶν. So Cur. Lp. and some Greek MSS.

41. Τοὺς ποιοῦντας: Pesh. Cur. Lp. *all them which do*.

48. Ἀναβιβάσαντες: Pesh. adds αὐτήν, with some support. It has the καὶ, which some omit, and after καθίσαντες, proceeds ܐܠܗܐ ܐܠܗܐ, they selected; and the good they put into vessels. Cur. and Lp. have αὐτήν and καί, but express the latter part of the verse differently.

54, 57. Pesh. for πατρίς has ܐܬܬܝܪ, *city*. So Cur.; also Lp. at ver. 54, at 57 it is defective<sup>1</sup>.

XIV. 1. Ἐν ἐκείνῃ: Pesh. adds δέ: so Cur. and, no doubt, Lp., but the writing is defective.

4. At the end Pesh. adds ܐܬܬܝܪ, *wife*; so Cur., but not Lp.

6. ܡܫܬܩܬܐ ܦܪܥܝܐ, ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἀνακειμένων, cp. Mark vi. 22. So substantially Cur., but Lp. omits the clause.

7. Ὁμολόγησεν: Pesh. ܡܬܥܝܪ, *swore*, with slight support, but not Cur. nor Lp.

8. Pesh., with Cur. and Lp., has *She said, Give me here*. The order was perhaps altered for the sake of the Syriac idiom, but it is supported by the Greek of D.

9. Pesh. adds at the end ܐܬܬܝܪ, *to her*, with Cur.; so apparently Lp., but the word is illegible.

13. Πεζῇ: Pesh. ܡܫܬܩܬܐ, as if reading διὰ ξηρᾶς, but the same rendering of πεζῇ is found in Mark vi. 33. Cur. more literally ܡܫܬܩܬܐ; Lp. is defective.

15. Τοὺς ὄχλους: Pesh. adds ܡܬܠܝܬܐ, τῶν ἀνθρώπων, not Cur.; Lp. is defective.

16. Pesh. omits Ἰησοῦς, with Cur. Lp. ܐܝܬܐ and D.

19. Ἐπὶ τοὺς χόρτους: Pesh. ܡܬܠܝܬܐ ܡܬܠܝܬܐ, *on the ground*, but Cur. ܡܬܠܝܬܐ, Lp. ܡܬܠܝܬܐ, to express the χόρτους.

ܡܬܠܝܬܐ ܡܬܠܝܬܐ ܡܬܠܝܬܐ ܡܬܠܝܬܐ ܡܬܠܝܬܐ, and gave to his disciples (omitting τοὺς ἄρτους) and the disciples set them before the multitudes. Cur. *He brake the bread and gave to his disciples and his disciples gave to the multitudes*; so Lp.<sup>2</sup> Pesh. has some slight support from the Old Latin.

21. Pesh. omits ὥσεί: so Cur.; Lp. is defective.

24. Pesh. omits ἦδη, with D and Old Latin MSS. It also has ܡܬܠܝܬܐ ܡܬܠܝܬܐ, βασιανίζόμενον πολὺ. Most of Lp. is illegible. Cur. does not read ἦδη or ܡܬܠܝܬܐ. Cur. and Lp. have *and they were distressed*, mas. pl.

25, 26. ܡܬܠܝܬܐ bis, *water*, for τῆς θαλάσσης. τὴν θάλασσαν, looks like an early error for ܡܬܠܝܬܐ, *sea*. Lp. is defective at ver. 25, and has ܡܬܠܝܬܐ at ver. 26. Cur. has ܡܬܠܝܬܐ ver. 25, ܡܬܠܝܬܐ ver. 26.

<sup>1</sup> The Syriac expresses a special meaning of the word—'native place,' in general, hence 'city.' Besides instances in the Gospels, it is so used by Philo and Josephus; see Thayer's *Grimm's Lexicon*, Blomfield's *Lexicon to the Greek Testament*, s.v. It would therefore be unreasonable to suppose that the Syriac had a reading πόλις.

<sup>2</sup> On ܡܬܠܝܬܐ, which is read in Cur. as well as in Pesh., but not in Lp., see remark on the use of ܡܬܠܝܬܐ, viii. 8, above.

26. Tischendorf quotes Pesh. for the inversion περιπατοῦντα ἐπὶ τ. θάλ., but the order seems due to the Syriac idiom. Cur. and Lp. have the same order.

29. 'Ο δέ: Pesh., with E and others, adds 'Ιησοῦς: not Cur.; Lp. is defective here.

31. 'Ο 'Ιησοῦς: Pesh. ܕܡܠܟܐ, *our Lord*. Cur. has *Jesus*, Lp. is defective.

34. Pesh. ܕܬܪܬܝܢܐ (the land) of Gēnēsar. So Cur. and Lp.

3. In our examination of the text of these fourteen chapters, we find one hundred and thirty-seven places where the renderings in the Peshitto agree neither with the Greek Text of codex B, nor with that of the mass of Greek copies. In this number we do not include the variations in v. 17 and vi. 32 a, because the true text of the Peshitto<sup>1</sup> is now found to be in agreement with the Greek; nor viii. 4 b, because, though there is a well-supported reading '*thy gift*,' the true text appears to be '*the gift*,' as the Greek; nor the doubtful readings in viii. 8, 13, 25, ix. 28, xiii. 54, 57, xiv. 19 a and 26. In the majority of the hundred and thirty-seven places, the Peshitto has the support of the Curetonian and the Lewis, or one of them. In many others it is supported by the Old Latin, or by a few Greek copies. There remain thirty-one places—almost one-fourth of the whole number—in which the Peshitto appears to stand alone; places, at least, where no variation in other authorities is quoted by Tischendorf in his notes, with the two exceptions (if exceptions they be) which we have recorded below. As the presence of such a large number of Peshitto readings in only fourteen chapters is significant, it will be well to collect and set them down. They are:—

ii. 21 *Joseph* added; iii. 16 ἰδὸν omitted; iv. 15 καὶ omitted; 23 second πᾶσαν omitted; 24 τοὺς added; v. 1 *Jesus* added; 12 τότε prefixed; 44 the singular τῷ καταρωμένῳ ὑμᾶς; vi. 18 αὐτὸς inserted before ἀποδώσει; vii. 16 δὲ added; viii. 16 αὐτῶν added; 23 *Jesus* added, and below; 29 ἰδὸν omitted;

<sup>1</sup> At v. 17 the MSS. and the American Edition have the second ܡܠܟܐ, ܕܡܠܟܐ. At vi. 32 the addition is found in two important copies, but is rejected by the majority. See *Tetraevangelium*, pp. 39 and 48.

33 πάντα τὰ γειόμενα; ix. 2 ἰδοὺ omitted; 3 τινὲς δὲ τῶν γραμματέων; 10 καὶ ἰδοὺ omitted; 18 ἰδοὺ omitted; 32 *Jesus* for αὐτῶν; 37 καὶ for τότε; x. 2 ἐκείνων added; xii. 46 ἦλθον for ἰδοὺ; xiii. 18 τοῦ σπέρματος; 23 μου added to τὸν λόγον<sup>1</sup>; 29 omission of οὖ; 48 the reading *they selected; and the good they put*<sup>2</sup>; xiv. 13 the probable reading διὰ ξηρᾶς; 15 τῶν ἀνθρώπων added; 24 πολὺ added; 26 ἐπὶ τὰ ὕδατα; 31 the reading *Our Lord*.

4 a. We have noted that two of these Peshitto readings receive external support, one from a codex of the Old Latin, the other from a passage in Chrysostom. It is in a high degree probable that others of the readings agree with variants in some of the cursive copies, the bulk of which has never been examined exhaustively<sup>3</sup>. At present our argument is merely negative: in these many places the Peshitto appears to stand alone. We can however foresee that ultimately one or other of two positions must be taken. If the many Peshitto readings, which witness to Greek variants such as are found in none of the best known copies, are hereafter discovered to represent variants lurking, some in one, some in another, cursive copy, it will follow that the cursives embody much independent matter; that they are not mere replicas of one archetype, the reproduction, in publishers' style, of a single text; that they can no longer be disregarded by those who would settle the text of the Greek Testament on an irrefragable basis. If they contain nothing but one late type of text, let them be laid aside, and the issue will be between Tischendorf's codex  $\aleph$ , and Westcott and Hort's codex B. If they represent a large number of very ancient, but now lost, archetypes, we shall neglect the greater part of the evidence if we only admit the testimony of a few uncials.

<sup>1</sup> Tischendorf adduces Old Latin q as a sole authority for this addition.

<sup>2</sup> Tischendorf quotes from Chrysostom a passage resembling this reading, but adduces no authority of MSS. or Versions.

<sup>3</sup> Gregory in Tischendorf's *Nov. Test. Gr.* (vol. iii, viii, p. 453) recognizes that some cursives witness to a text much older than themselves, and adds, 'haud ita multi vero ad hunc diem accurate examinati sunt.'

b. This will be one position. But an alternative may have to be taken. It may be that whether the cursive texts be hereafter resolved into many, or proved to be only one, the Peshitto will be found to possess a large store of readings, which unquestionably presuppose variations in the Greek, and yet are supported by no Greek copies now known to us. Full allowance must here be made for differences, which are rather of translation than of reading; still there will yet remain a considerable number of places, where the Peshitto (as distinguished from the Curetonian and the Lewis) will be an independent witness to very ancient Greek readings, and will claim to be heard in addition to the attestations of  $\aleph$  and B. Westcott and Hort in their *Introduction*, to which we have already referred, suppose that there was 'an authoritative revision [of the Greek] at Antioch, which was then taken as a standard for a similar authoritative revision of the Syriac Text.' But since we have shown that the Peshitto readings do not exactly represent any extant Greek Text, it follows that, if the conjecture of the Cambridge Doctors be right, the Peshitto is the *sole* witness to a very ancient and authoritative type of the text of the New Testament.



## III.

At this stage in our investigation it may be convenient to re-state what is known and generally admitted in connexion with the history of the Peshitto Version of the New Testament.

1. No one questions the fact that it has been received for many centuries as their accredited version by both branches of the Syrian Church <sup>1</sup>.

2. The text of the version is attested by an exceptionally large number of very ancient MSS. These, though written in different localities, exhibit the text at various epochs with a certainty and uniformity, which is almost, or quite, without a parallel among the MSS. of ancient books <sup>2</sup>.

3. The pre-eminence of the Peshitto was due to the high estimate in which it was held, and not to the absence of competitors. At the beginning of the sixth century, and again at the beginning of the seventh, revisions were undertaken <sup>3</sup> with a view to bringing the text of the Syriac into conformity with the type of Greek text then prevalent, and rendering the translation more literal and accurate; but neither of these revisions superseded the ancient Peshitto.

4 a. So far all critics are in agreement. But it has been supposed that in the era preceding the time when our oldest copies of the Peshitto were written, some other form of translation was in general use. It was observed that Aphraates <sup>4</sup>, whose Homilies were composed between A. D. 337 and 345, and

<sup>1</sup> For the history of the Syriac Versions of the New Testament see Wright, *Syriac Literature*, pp. 6-20, where many authorities are quoted. Cp. Mr. Burkitt's *Early Christianity outside the Roman Empire*, pp. 15, 18, 19.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Mr. Rendel Harris' remarks in *L. Q. R.*, pp. 103, 104.

<sup>3</sup> The *Philoxenian*, by Philoxenus, Bishop of Mabog, in 508, and the *Harkleian*, by Thomas of Harkel, in 616.

<sup>4</sup> For Aphraates and Ephraim see Wright, *Syriac Literature*, pp. 32-38, and the article 'Ephraim' in *Dictionary of Christian Biography*.

therefore are anterior to our earliest Peshitto MSS., did not habitually quote from the New Testament Peshitto Text. The usage of this writer is of importance in the question, because his Homilies contain a very large number of Biblical citations, and afford sufficient materials for arriving at a definite conclusion.

b. The usage in citations of the other great Syriac writer of the period, Mar Ephraim<sup>1</sup>, is perhaps the pivot on which the present controversy will turn. Formerly it was supposed that Ephraim made use of the Peshitto. If, as appeared to be the case in not a few places, he used some other translation from time to time—perhaps his own independent rendering—yet the presence of the Peshitto in his writings was proof of the antiquity of the version, and that it was known, and in use amongst Syriac writers, in a period earlier than that of our earliest copies of it<sup>2</sup>. Many years ago I indicated that the solution of the problem might be found by a careful examination of all the quotations in the earliest Syriac writers<sup>3</sup>. Mr. Burkitt has proceeded on the path, which I pointed out as the route to our destination; and his observations and conclusions are, naturally, to me of peculiar interest. After an exhaustive study of the genuine works of Mar Ephraim, he contends that the resemblance of Ephraim's quotations to the Peshitto Text is due to corruption of Ephraim's own text, and that the true text of Ephraim, as attested by the best MSS. of the Father's writings, shows that he used the *Diatessaron* in the main<sup>4</sup>. Hence Mr. Burkitt infers that the Peshitto did not exist in the fourth century. His inference

<sup>1</sup> See Mr. Woods' 'Examination of the New Testament Quotations of Ephrem Syrus' in *Studia Biblica*, vol. iii.

<sup>2</sup> It is allowed by all Syriac scholars that some of the oldest of the extant MSS. of the Peshitto N. T. are not later than the fifth century, and were perhaps written about a hundred years after the death of Ephraim, which took place in 373. A recent examination of the most ancient Syriac MS. in the Bodleian Library, a Tetraevangelium, has led to the conclusion that it is much older than has hitherto been supposed, and rivals in antiquity all, except a few, of the oldest copies. See a note by the present writer on 'The Age of Dawkins 3' in *The Journal of Theological Studies*, April, 1902.

<sup>3</sup> In a paper published in *Studia Biblica*, vol. i; see pp. 168, 169.

<sup>4</sup> On the disuse of this work in the Syrian Church see p. 232 (2) below.

is exposed to the obvious objection that the use of the *Diatessaron* does not preclude the existence of Separate Gospels. He even admits the use of the Peshitto in eight out of his forty-eight selected examples. \* But Mr. Burkitt's theory derives support from the phenomena presented by those few quotations which have been traced in other extant remains of the Syriac literature before the fifth century. It is not disputed that they bear a greater resemblance to Curetonian, or Lewis, readings, as the case may be, than to the Peshitto Text. But from the fifth century and onwards the Peshitto held undisputed possession of the field in the usage of the Syrius. A theory of its origin is demanded, and Mr. Burkitt considers the action taken by Bishop Rabbula affords sufficient explanation of the rise of the great version<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Burkitt, op. cit., p. 57; see also p. 232, n. 1, below.

## IV.

1. Our inquiry presents two problems which are related, but yet distinct: (1) the antiquity of the Peshitto, (2) its place amongst the witnesses to the Greek Text of the New Testament. Mere antiquity is not the hall-mark of value. A version might have been made at the beginning of the second century from a Greek copy, which was inaccurate, or imperfect, or had even been wilfully vitiated. Such a work, in spite of its antiquity, could not outweigh the evidence of much later Greek copies, which would attest the text of their archetypes, though themselves separated from them by a long interval. The origin and history of the Peshitto Version of the New Testament is an interesting literary problem, and, of course, the date of the version, if it could be ascertained, would be an important element in determining its value; but the date is not the only consideration. We still have to take account of the Greek MSS. on which it was based, of the authority by which it was promulgated, of the estimate in which it has been held by the Church, in her character as the Keeper of Holy Writ.

2. We claim to have shown in the preceding pages of this *Studium* that the Peshitto bears an independent witness to the Greek Text of the Holy Gospels. It exhibits, as we have seen, readings which are almost peculiar to itself. It not unfrequently sides with the text of codex B. It more often supports the readings of the Traditional Text; but language has been used about it, which implies a far closer relation to the latter Text than our observations confirm. The Peshitto is supposed to be its main support, and has been called its 'sheet-anchor.' So when Mr. Burkitt's investigations seemed to result in depreciation of its authority, the paean of victory

was raised<sup>1</sup>. It was confidently asserted by those who disparage the Traditional Text, that the cause of their opponents had suffered shipwreck and was hopelessly lost. But the school, in which I have for many years been a scholar, has never considered the Peshitto the sheet-anchor of our position. I have yet to learn that Scrivener or Burgon ever set such an extravagant value on the Peshitto, although, as we allow, they held the evidence of that Version in very high esteem. The epithet 'sheet-anchor' was invented in the opposite camp, perhaps by Dr. Sanday<sup>2</sup>. It was first used in my hearing by him in his speech at the Debate on New Testament Criticism, held in New College five years ago<sup>3</sup>. Those who spoke on the other side were careful to insist on the necessity of weighing all the evidence. Their language is opposed to any intention of making some single part the sole support of the whole<sup>4</sup>. We admit that Burgon and Miller held the Peshitto Version in very high esteem, but we are sure that their estimate would have been modified in deference to any certain conclusions derived from accurate study of the history of that Version. But even in the extravagant supposition that the Peshitto was the worthless rendering of a falsified Greek codex, palmed off upon good Bishop Rabbula by a crafty monk of Antioch; even if thus the Peshitto had to be expunged from our Apparatus Criticus, the critical position of the late Dean Burgon would be unchanged. He would still have said, 'I base my text on the evidence of all the available and credible and creditable witnesses<sup>5</sup>.'

<sup>1</sup> A note of triumph sounds all through Mr. Rendel Harris' review in *L. Q. R.* and reaches *fortissimo* in the last paragraph.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Burkitt, in a letter to the *Record* dated Feb. 24 last, says, 'The statement that the Peshitta New Testament was the "sheet-anchor" of the defenders of the *Textus Receptus* represented my own deliberate opinion.' Allowing that for *Textus Receptus* must be substituted *Traditional Text*, as we have already explained, yet the statement shows an entire misapprehension of our position. Our primary witnesses are the MSS. Versions and Fathers, however valuable, are only subsidiary, not essential, supporters.

<sup>3</sup> *The Oxford Debate on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament, with a Preface explanatory of the Rival Systems*, 1897.

<sup>4</sup> See Miller's introductory speech, *Debate*, pp. 4 and 16, and compare my own remarks, p. 30.

<sup>5</sup> Thus in substance he expressed himself repeatedly. See, for example, *Revision Revised*, pp. 338, 339.

## V.

We will see how the evidence for the Traditional Text would be affected by the omission of the testimony of the Peshitto. To avoid the slightest suspicion of partiality, we will again avail ourselves of the presentment of evidence given by our opponent, Dr. Sanday, in the Oxford New Testament, and if from the readings, which begin on p. 102, we take always that which stands at the top of each page, we shall clear our selection from any appearance of design. We ask the reader to note that here is no question to which side the evidence belongs, as when discussion arises on the reading of a copy, or the text which underlies a passage in a version. The evidence of the Peshitto has already been allowed to our side by Dr. Sanday. We simply inquire what difference it will make in the verdict if we direct this witness to stand down.

1. Matt. i. 25 τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς τὸν πρωτότοκον: or, υἱὸν only. We will quote Burgon's own words<sup>1</sup>. 'Only **NBZ** and two cursive copies can be produced for the omission. . . . Besides the Vulgate, the Peschito and Philoxenian Syriac, the Aethiopic, Armenian, Georgian, and Slavonian Versions, a whole torrent of Fathers are at hand to vouch for the genuineness of the epithet. . . . And how is it possible that two copies of the ivth century (**B**) and one of the vith (**Z**) . . . backed by a few copies of the Old Latin, should be supposed to be any counterpoise at all for such an array of first-rate contemporary evidence as the foregoing' (namely, the Fathers, whom he quotes by name)? It is clear that the subtraction of the more important Syriac Version, though it would affect the evidence, would not change the Dean's decision, for that is based on the consentient testimony of the bulk of MSS. and Fathers; nor, on our principles, can the verdict be different, even though we add to the Dean's statement, that the Curetonian and the Memphitic-Thebaic side here with **B** and **Σ**.

<sup>1</sup> *The Revision Revised*, p. 123.

2. Matt. v. 44 ἐπηραζόντων ὑμᾶς καί. These words are omitted by  $\aleph B$  and some other authorities. The scale is not turned, if we withdraw the Peshitto from the mass of evidence by which the words are supported.

3. Matt. vii. 14. ὅτι is the reading of  $\aleph^* B^*$  and some other authorities, τί of such a mass of authorities, that the omission of the Peshitto, which supports it, can make no possible difference in the result.

4. Matt. xi. 19. ἔργων, the reading of  $\aleph$  and  $B^*$ , is here supported by the Peshitto, in spite of which we accept the Traditional reading τέκνων, which is found in nearly all copies.

We pass the reading at the top of the next page (106), because the Peshitto is not there cited, nor is its evidence available with certainty. Some other readings will be passed over for the same cause. We take next:—

5. Matt. xix. 9 καὶ ὁ ἀπολελυμένην γαμήσας μοιχᾶται. Burgon wrote<sup>1</sup>:—‘Those thirty-one letters probably formed three lines in the oldest copies of all. Hence they are observed to exist in the Syriac (Peshitto, Harkleian and Jerusalem), the Vulgate, some copies of the Old Latin, the Armenian, and the Ethiopic, besides at least seventeen uncials (including  $B\Phi\Sigma$ ), and the vast majority of the cursives.’ It is obvious that the omission of the Peshitto from such a formidable list would not affect the Dean’s decision.

The addition in Matt. xx. 28 (p. 109) and the omission in xxii. 44 (p. 110), with some other variations on subsequent pages, do not enter into the present discussion. The next is:—

6. Matt. xxvi. 28. καὶ ἡς, which Westcott and Hort, bound by their allegiance to codex B, omit, is attested by such a multitude of witnesses, that the further evidence of the Peshitto is superfluous, though gratifying.

7. Mark v. 1. Γερασσηῶν  $\aleph^* BD$  and the Latin, Γαδαρηνῶν A and the majority, with the Peshitto. Here the evidence of the Peshitto is of more consequence than in some of the instances already considered; but even without it, Γαδαρηνῶν enjoys the support of the mass of witnesses.

8. Mark ix. 23. With or without the Peshitto, πιστεῦσαι will be read by those who accept the testimony of the majority of witnesses.

9. Mark xi. 3. ‘Traces of πάλιν linger on only in those untrustworthy witnesses  $\aleph BCD\Lambda$ , and about twice as many

<sup>1</sup> *The Causes of the Corruption of the Traditional Text of the Holy Gospels*, Burgon and Miller, 1896, p. 40.

cursive copies,' Burgon<sup>1</sup>. After this it matters little that the Peshitto here sides with the majority against B.

10. Mark xv. 28. The omission of this verse in 'a very few ancient authorities' was brought about 'by the influence of the Lectionary practice,' according to Burgon's explanation in *Causes of Corruption of Text*, pp. 75-8.

11. Luke iv. 18. It has been said that the words *ἰάσασθαι τοὺς συντετριμμένους τὴν καρδίαν* are open to suspicion as being a genuine portion of the Old Testament Text, but not also of the New<sup>2</sup>. We accept them, however, on the authority of the mass of copies, with, or without, the Peshitto.

12.\* Luke vi. 48. The gloss *διὰ τὸ καλῶς οἰκοδομηθῆναι αὐτήν*, exhibited by *AB* and a few others as the genuine text, cannot be accepted in place of the familiar words against the evidence of the great majority, whether we include the witness of the Peshitto or not.

13. Luke x. 1. *ἑβδομήκοντα* *NA*, &c.; B and a few authorities add *δύο*. The Peshitto for the former reading is a counterpoise to the Curetonian and Lewis for the latter, but its absence would not turn the scale against the weighty evidence of the mass of MSS.

14. Luke xi. 4. The witness of the Latin for the clause *ἀλλὰ ῥύσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ* is divided, but it is found in the Curetonian, though not in the Lewis, and even without the 'sheet-anchor' of the Peshitto, is secured by overwhelming weight of diplomatic evidence. Only a slavish adherence to *N* and B could induce editors to omit it.

15. Luke xvi. 12. *ἡμέτερον* cannot be read on the authority of B and L, with some slight further attestation, when *ὑμέτερον* is attested by a host of witnesses, irrespective of the Peshitto.

16. Luke xxiii. 15. (1) *ἀνέπεμψα γὰρ ὑμᾶς πρὸς αὐτόν*, or (2) *ἀνέπεμψε γὰρ αὐτὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς*. Seven uncials (including *N* and B and some cursives are quoted for the latter reading, which is necessarily adopted by those editors who follow *N* and B. The former reading is that of the majority of MSS. and of the Latin, and receives some support from the reading *for I sent him to him*, which is found in the Curetonian, the Lewis, and the Peshitto. The additional testimony of the latter confirms the authority of reading (1), but we do not deem the evidence essential to our decision.

<sup>1</sup> *The Revision Revised*, p. 57 bot.

<sup>2</sup> See Scrivener's *Plain Introduction* (ed. Miller), i. p. 13.



17. Luke xxiii. 45. καὶ ἐσκοτίσθη ὁ ἥλιος receives almost unanimous support. Those who prefer τοῦ ἡλίου ἐκλείποντος have (says Burgon<sup>1</sup>) 'but a single Version—not a single Father—and but three-and-a-half Evangelia to appeal to, out of perhaps three hundred and fifty times that number.' Such a weight of evidence for the traditional reading is hardly affected by the fact that the Peshitto sides with it. In such a case its testimony is immaterial.

18. Luke xxiv. 42. The omission or retention of the words καὶ ἀπὸ μελισσίου κηρίου is the subject of a Dissertation of twelve pages by Dean Burgon, and forms Appendix I of *The Traditional Text*. It will be seen by reference to the summary of evidence on pp. 250, 251, that the testimony of the Peshitto, though included, is not essential to the writer's decision.

It would consume space without necessity, and tire the patience of the reader, if we were to add other examples. These eighteen, taken almost at random from three Gospels, are enough to illustrate our position. So great is the wealth of attestation to the Traditional Text of the New Testament, that the evidence of a Version or a Father can, *argumenti causa*, be laid aside. No 'sheet-anchor' is required where there is no fear of drifting. The loss of codex B would be fatal to the stability of the structure raised by more than one critical editor. Without the Old Latin the advocates of Western readings would lack an indispensable witness. As the discovery of  $\aleph$  afforded a support to the text of B, so the presence or absence of the Peshitto may affect the evidence which we accept, but would not turn the scale so as to disturb our estimate of the whole text. I do not deny the possibility of our judgement being altered as to some particular and isolated readings; but in the vast majority of cases the verdict depends on the different principles adopted by the rival schools in sifting the evidence, and not on the attestation of an individual witness. Formerly it was lawful to take our stand on the acknowledged antiquity of the Peshitto. It was impossible indeed to prove, but neither was it possible to disprove, that the version dated from the third or second century, the

<sup>1</sup> *The Revision Revised*, p. 64.

latter being the era assigned to it by many competent scholars. Now Ephraim and Rabbula have been summoned to intercept the connexion with such great antiquity. But New Testament critics cannot wait, and delay the settlement of the Greek Text, while experts are arguing about the date of a Version. We are bold to sweep the difficulty aside, and dispense with the evidence of the Peshitto. We do not admit that its evidence is of no value. We insist that even on the hypothesis of our opponents, it is adjudged to be a witness of ancient readings, while it is most assuredly an independent witness. Yet, in spite of its value, we can afford to do without it, so abundant is the evidence which the Providence of God has provided for the establishment of the Text of His Word.

For the evidence for the true text of the New Testament is not the witness of the venerable codex B, taken alone; nor the reconstruction effected by the labours of Drs. Westcott and Hort<sup>1</sup>; nor the independent testimony of 'Western' documents<sup>2</sup>; nor the occasional consent of a few very ancient copies, which are frequently at variance in their witness; but the sufficient evidence is the testimony of the Catholic Church, as shown in the form of text which she has handed down to us. In saying this we do not mean that one unvarying form has been current in all places and at all times. There have been corrupt as well as correct copies. Some Versions were made from better MSS. of the original than others were. Some of the Fathers were more critical than others, and sought out the best readings, while others quoted with little regard to accuracy. There is therefore not only room, but an imperative demand for the exercise of the most search-

<sup>1</sup> Although Westcott and Hort assigned to codex B a position of paramount importance, they sometimes rejected its evidence (which usually they accepted unhesitatingly) in a way which certainly savours of arbitrariness. An example is Matt. vi. 22, where, with the majority, they read *ἐστὶν ὁ ὀφθαλμός*; but B (with some support) adds *σου*, which Lachmann adopted. Compare the strictures in *Revision Revised*, p. 307.

<sup>2</sup> For this form of Text see *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (Kenyon), chap. viii, § 4, Salmon, op. cit., chap. vi; *Oxford Debate*, Pref., p. ix.

ing criticism in dealing with the readings of Holy Scripture. 'It is the study,' said Burgon, 'of a lifetime.' Codex B, as interpreted by Dr. Hort, is evidence enough for some. Those who are not satisfied with the witness of one MS., and the explanations of one clever mind, desire judicially to sift all the evidence. To them the Peshitto is a most important witness, because it is independent, and speaks from out of a remote past; but it is not the 'sheet-anchor' of their textual faith. They rest on the collective wisdom of the Church, not on the opinions of a part only. In arguing for the antiquity of the Traditional Text, Miller has said<sup>1</sup> that it is *confirmed* by the witness of the Peshitto. He does not say *proved*, nor does he claim the witness as *necessary* for the argument. If the witness has not all the evidence to give, with which he was credited, Miller's argument may be modified, but his conclusion is not disproved. Mr. Burkitt's contention does not remove the Peshitto. We still need it, though not in the pressing and imperative sense, which has been supposed. We shall continue to appeal to it, even if the conditions of the problem are somewhat changed.

<sup>1</sup> See the Preface to *Oxford Debate*, p. xiv.

## VI.

In the uncertainty which enwraps the origin of the Peshitto conjecture has special attractions, but on the present occasion I shall content myself with the humbler, but not, I think, unprofitable task of inviting the reader to consider certain aspects of conjectures which have been made to serve for history in a region of mist and obscurity.

1. It was recognized that there was ample evidence to witness to the spread of the Gospel in Syria at a very early period in the Christian era, in view of which it was not unreasonable to conjecture that the Holy Scriptures were translated into the Syriac vernacular even as early as the second century A.D.<sup>1</sup> The Peshitto Version occupied the field, and was by tradition credited with being the ancient and original Syriac Bible, of which some later versions were revisions.

2. Comparison with the history of the Latin Versions next suggested the conjecture that the Peshitto was evolved from some earlier version. This conjecture had the advantage of offering an account—though not an adequate and satisfactory one—of the relation of the Peshitto Text to another Syriac Text (the Curetonian) which, meanwhile, had been brought to England from Egypt<sup>2</sup>. It had also the effect of greatly reducing the antiquity of the Peshitto.

3. When it was discovered that writers anterior to the episcopate of Rabbula<sup>3</sup> did not always and accurately quote from the Peshitto, while writers of subsequent ages were evidently familiar with the Peshitto Text, and used it as their

<sup>1</sup> See Burkitt, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-13; Miller's *Scrivener*, vol. ii. chap. ii.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Rendel Harris, however, has justly insisted on 'the fallacy of reasoning in textual matters from analogy.' *L. Q. R.*, pp. 103, 104.

<sup>3</sup> He was Bishop of Edessa from 411 to 435. See article by E. Venables in *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, and Wright's *Syriac Literature*, pp. 32-38.

On the other hand the conjecture is unsatisfactory in that it leaves unexplained the following facts:—

2. The loss of the Older Text. If it be granted that the Curetonian and the Lewis are Pre-Peshitto copies, it must be allowed that their divergences one from another are so great that at the best they only contain some Old Syriac Text<sup>2</sup>; and they are only two in number against the multitude of Peshitto copies. To attempt to account for their differences does not come within the scope of this essay, and in our present knowledge would probably be futile. On the other hand, the fact that they are connected by the application to both of the term *Mepharreshe* may be significant. It is not unreasonable to suppose that they represent first attempts to carry out the order of Rabbula, that copies of the Separated

<sup>2</sup> See p. 236 n. below.

(*Mepharreshe*) Gospels were to be substituted for the *Diatessaron*, which hitherto had been much in use <sup>1</sup>.

3. Quite as remarkable as the loss of the Old Syriac Text was the rapidity with which (on Mr. Burkitt's hypothesis) the new Peshitto Text sprang into favour. As far as we can judge from the evidence of Peshitto MSS. now extant, the old Text was entirely neglected, and copies of the new were multiplied without admixture of Old Syriac elements.

If however these various difficulties present so little force to some minds that no hesitation is felt in accepting Mr. Burkitt's conjecture, then it should be noted that certain consequences will follow, and necessarily, from the hypothesis.

1. The origin of the Peshitto Text is traced to a very early date in the history of the authorities for the Text of the New Testament. Rabbula's episcopate lasted from A.D. 411-435. Within that period *ex hypothesi* the Peshitto was produced. It is therefore as old as any of the oldest MSS. of the Greek Testament, with the exception of  $\alpha$  and B.

2. Rabbula translated afresh, where necessary, from the original. Therefore he had access to Greek documents. It is obvious that an ecclesiastic in his position, who was approaching the formidable task of a revision of the Text of the New Testament in use in his country, would employ the most accurate documents which he could obtain <sup>2</sup>. If he was not satisfied with those which were accessible in his own country, he could send to Alexandria or to Constantinople for better copies <sup>3</sup>. We know nothing, and my reader is free to

<sup>1</sup> See *The Traditional Text*, chap. vi, 'Witness of the Early Syriac Versions.' Prebendary Miller favoured the hypothesis that in various parts of Christendom incorrect readings and extraneous glosses were handed down beside the streams of genuine traditional text and authorized translation, and that this erroneous matter was gradually rejected, and now only survives in certain documents or classes of documents. Compare the Dialogue with an Objector in *Revision Revised*, pp. 320-328.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Salmon, *op. cit.*, pp. 84, 85, recognizes that the Syrian reviser 'had one important advantage over us in his better knowledge of the current text of the fourth century.' This is indeed true; but such considerations are too much neglected by those who would set the arm-chair conjecture of the modern student above the testimony of contemporaneous witnesses.

<sup>3</sup> He had friends in both cities, for he corresponded with Cyril and preached at Constantinople. See Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 48, 49.

adopt any conjecture he pleases; but this he must grant, that Rabbula's Greek MSS. exhibited a Text which is not identical with what is read in codex A, or in any other codex in our *Apparatus Criticus*. This we have already demonstrated, from the broad features of the Canon down to the minutiae of trifling variations. The *readings* (as distinguished from *renderings*) which are peculiar to the Peshitto, may with propriety be called 'Syrian Readings,' because they depend on the Greek readings, which were accepted by the great Syrian Bishop, whether he used imported MSS. or copies preserved in Syrian Libraries. They are not, however, identical, as we have seen, with the 'Syriac Readings' condemned by Drs. Westcott and Hort, and they often agree with the readings of codex B, the great authority of the Cambridge Doctors. As regards their age, it would be no unreasonable supposition that Rabbula used copies made a century or so before his time, copies as old as, or older than, A and B. Even if he used copies made in his own day, to his own order, these would represent more ancient documents. On any hypothesis, Rabbula's Peshitto represents the readings of Greek codices of great antiquity, and independent alike of the oldest uncials and the latest cursives<sup>1</sup>.

This aspect of the question was enforced by Dr. Waller in a correspondence between Mr. Burkitt and himself, which appeared in the *Record* newspaper in the early months of the year 1902. Mr. Burkitt retorted that it was 'a new plea.' It is not so. Our plea is one and the same always. We plead the judgement of the universal Church. In an inquiry such as this, which is partly literary, partly historical, partly theological, fresh discoveries affect different portions of the evidence. When the readings of the codex Rossanensis were made known, Dr. Sanday described it as 'lending its support decidedly to the defenders of the Traditional Text<sup>2</sup>.' At an

<sup>1</sup> I would also refer the reader to what I have written before in *Studia Biblica*, vol. ii. pp. 265, 266.

<sup>2</sup> *Studia Biblica*, vol. i. The Text of the codex Rossanensis (Σ), p. 112.

earlier date the discovery of the Codex Sinaiticus strengthened the position of those who base their text on a few ancient documents. But, though the presentment of the evidence may be modified, the rival schools of criticism remain in hopeless antagonism, because they differ on first principles.

3. The Peshitto has long enjoyed the authority belonging to common use and general acceptance in an ancient branch of the Catholic Church, and thus occupies a superior position as compared with the two other forms of Text, the Curetonian and the Lewis. These have no history, and can claim no authority beyond the antiquity imparted to some of their readings by the resemblance they bear to quotations in early Syriac writers. The two Texts are contradictory on the supreme question of our Lord's human nature, and the Lewis is heretical in some of its statements<sup>1</sup>. But the Peshitto enters the witness-box to testify to the Text of the New Testament with the weight of accepted credibility. Its Text has been handed down to us as that which the Syriac Church has received as authentic. It represents a stage in the process of eliminating ancient textual errors—for it is well known that some of the worst were perpetrated in the earliest ages<sup>2</sup>—and preserving the genuine readings. I venture to remind my readers that my argument has always been, 'We know that the Peshitto is ancient, but we know nothing, indisputable and adequate, about any earlier version. We do not deny<sup>3</sup> that such may have existed, but we contend that it certainly was neither the Lewis nor the Curetonian, in their present forms.' 'No one,' says Mr. Burkitt<sup>4</sup>, 'supposes that S. Jerome used either of the particular MSS. which we call *a* and *b* as the basis of his revision.' Perhaps not. But the epithet 'Old Syriac' was constantly prefixed to a reading copied from the Curetonian, or is nowadays prefixed to one

<sup>1</sup> See *Church Quarterly Review*, April, 1895, pp. 112-114.

<sup>2</sup> See *Causes of Corruption in the Traditional Text* (Burgon and Miller), pp. 12, 13; Miller's *Scribener*, II, chap. ix, §§ 2, 3.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. my words in *Studia Biblica*, i. p. 172; ii. pp. 89, 90.

<sup>4</sup> *S. Ephraim's Quotations*, p. vii.



taken from the Lewis, as though 'Curetonian,' 'Lewis,' and 'Old Syriac' were equivalent terms; a very inaccurate mode of expression, in view of the hopeless differences between the Curetonian and Lewis Texts<sup>1</sup>.

If Mr. Burkitt is right in ascribing the present form of the Peshitto New Testament to the pen of Rabbula, he has (I fear, unintentionally) greatly enhanced its weight, by giving it a definite history, a distinguished origin, and the shelter of an authoritative authorship. He reminds me that I appealed unto Caesar, and he thinks the appeal will result in a decision to the condemnation of our cause. As far as judgement has yet been pronounced, we have nothing to complain of. The path I indicated, when followed up, has led to a satisfactory result. The unknown author of the Peshitto has been found in the person of a distinguished churchman, who revised an ancient work by Greek MSS. which have no representatives now extant, and thus has transmitted to us an independent witness to the Greek Text of the New Testament. We wait with curiosity to see whether further research will establish the truth of Mr. Burkitt's hypothesis, or whether it will fail to bear the weight of the difficulties which attend the adoption of it. Meanwhile we note an interesting resemblance between the work of Mr. Burkitt and of Drs. Westcott and Hort. *They* (albeit unwittingly) established the antiquity of the Textus Receptus of the Greek. *He* has confirmed the authority of the Textus Receptus of the Syriac.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Burkitt (*ibid.*) recognizes the divergence between these forms of Syriac Text. I add the words of an eminent and well-known Orientalist, whose name I do not mention, as I quote from a private letter. After speaking of the peculiar interest attaching to the new edition of the *Tetraevangelium*, because of the possible connexion of Rabbula with the Peshitto, he says, 'Allerdings wäre es viel wichtiger, wenn wir die *alte* Uebersetzung in ihrer ursprünglichen Gestalt hätten.' But this he explains is unattainable, on account of 'die grossen Abweichungen des Sinaiticus von Curetonianus.'

## ADDENDUM

THE death of Prebendary Miller has delayed, but, we hope, will not put a stop to, the publication of Burgon's Text. The portion, however, of the *Textual Commentary* already printed affords good examples of the changes which Burgon considered were demanded by the evidence. Instances will be found in every chapter. As interesting specimens we may quote:—Matthew ii. 11, *Textual Commentary* (Miller), p. 8. Here Textus Receptus reads *ἐδρον τὸ παιδίον*, but Burgon with Westcott and Hort and the Revisers reads *εἶδον τ. π.* iii. 8, p. 12; T. R. *καρποὺς ἀξίους*, Burgon, W. H., Revisers, *καρπὸν ἀξίον*. iv. 10, p. 18; Burgon, *ὀπίσω μου*, which T. R., W. H., and Revisers omit. v. 21, p. 26; T. R. and W. H. *ἐρρήθη*, Burgon with Lachmann and cod. B, *ἐρρήθη*. v. 47, p. 38; T. R., W. H., Revisers, *ἀδελφούς*, Burgon, *φίλους*. vi. 18, p. 46; T. R. at the end of the verse adds *ἐν τῷ φανερώ*, Burgon and W. H. omit with B. vii. 14, p. 55; *τί στενὴ ἡ π.*, Burgon and Revisers' margin; *ὅτι σ. ἡ π.*, T. R., W. H., Revisers' Text. viii. 15, p. 60; *διηκόνει αὐτοῖς*, T. R.; *διη. αὐτῷ*, Burgon, W. H., Revisers. The reader may be surprised to discover that Burgon frequently accepted the readings of Westcott and Hort. In these cases those editors are supported by the majority of the Greek MSS. and by the Fathers.



# BAPTISM AND CHRISTIAN ARCHAEOLOGY

## CHAPTER I

### THE AGES OF PERSECUTION

#### *Scope of the inquiry undertaken.*

It is the object of this essay to examine the evidence from archaeology as to the custom of the early Church, while only such references to literature will be made as may serve for the purpose of illustration. The first three chapters will deal with the positive side of the question, by considering the actual representations of the rite that have been preserved, while in the last two the negative evidence will be examined, by studying such fonts as have survived from early days, with a view to determine whether their structure was such as would admit of the submersion of a catechumen.

Direct evidence as to the custom of the Ante-Nicene Church is confined to the paintings of the catacombs of Rome. They are by far the most important witness that has survived, for they have been preserved where stuffs have perished, household articles broken, even inscriptions and marbles destroyed. They were hidden from public gaze; and so the expression of Christian sentiment and representation of Church custom could be freely painted, and moreover after the Lombard invasions of the seventh and eighth centuries, when the bodies of the saints were removed within the walls of the city, they became entirely neglected, so that their frescoes escaped the fate of so many ancient monuments that were destroyed in later building and restoration.

In representations of baptism there is sometimes a considerable difference of opinion as to whether that of Christ is

pictured or that of a catechumen. For our purpose it is a matter indifferent, for though the doctrinal significance of S. John's baptism was entirely distinct, there is no reason to suppose that it was conceived of as varying in method.

It is generally assumed that the usual custom of the early Church was to baptize by total immersion, and though the reasons for supposing that affusion may have been practised even by the Apostles have often been set out and may be found in any special treatise on the subject, it is generally taken for granted that it was only in exceptional cases that the latter method was adopted.

This assumption is based mainly on the evidence supplied by literature. No doubt the works which have survived to the present day represent what was best in the thought of the early Church and so most worth preserving, and we do well in giving them the first place in our consideration, since it is always more profitable to study what is typical of any age, even if the average stood at a lower level; but we must not forget that the writings of the Fathers, as giving the best work of the leaders of the Church, tend to depict the ideal in their minds rather than to chronicle the actual that lay before their eyes.

The average of Christian sense and practice is best discovered by studying the way it worked itself out in liturgies and in the recognized devotions of the people, but even the Church orders will reveal to us what was aimed at rather than what was attained. To find out what was actually done by the mass of Christians we must turn to the evidence of archaeology, for which the data are drawn so largely from cemeteries and other regions where the popular will has always had freest scope.

So, were a stranger to examine our customs to-day, he would find frequent allusions in sermons to the symbolism of baptism which would seem to assume the practice of total immersion; on turning to the Prayer Book he would suppose it to be the custom, and affusion to be permitted occasionally, but an examination of the fonts in our churches would prove submersion always impossible for adults and nearly for infants.

*Ex. 1. Fresco in the Crypt of Lucina. c. 100 A.D.*

The earliest representation is that painted over the door of one of the chambers of what was probably the original crypt of Lucina on the Appian way (Fig. 1). It now forms part of the catacomb of S. Callistus and dates from the first or early second century<sup>1</sup>.

The scene is that of the baptism of Christ. The Baptist, clothed in an exomis, stands on the right; he stoops forward and holds out his right hand to a nude figure moving towards him as if to come out of the water. The dove flying towards the right is seen above the figure of the Saviour.



Fig. 1.

The fresco is .61 m. high and .4 broad. A copy was made by an artist named Dickmann under the supervision of Mgr. Wilpert in 1884; since that time it has considerably faded. The tongue of land on which the Baptist stands in the reproduction in De Rossi, as well as the water-line, do not appear in the original. Wilpert noticed that the traces of colour were more blue under the figure of the Baptist and of a greener shade beneath that of the Saviour. The olive branch indicated in the beak of the dove in De Rossi is emphasized in Garrucci, whose picture is that most frequently reproduced, but seems to have been inserted in his copy from some confusion with the left wing of the bird.

From the relative position of the figures the water could not have been pictured as rising higher than the knees of the

<sup>1</sup> *Römische Quartalschrift* (in future *R. Q. S.*), 1896, p. 335: 'Die Taufe Christi auf vorconstantinischen Gemälden der Katacomben,' von A. de Waal.—De Rossi, *Roma Sotterranea*, vol. i, p. 324, tav. 14, Rome, 1864.—Garrucci, *P. R., Storia dell' arte cristiana*, vol. i, p. 203; vol. ii, tav. i, Prato, 1873.—Schultze, V., *Archäologie der christlichen Kunst*, p. 365, München, 1895.

Saviour, as the Baptist seems to have been represented as standing on dry ground.

The painting has been explained as symbolical of deliverance from persecution (Garr., vol. i, p. 203) and as the saving of S. Peter (Martigny, *Dict.*<sup>2</sup> art. Pierre). V. Schultze interprets it as the baptism of a catechumen on the ground that our Lord would not have been represented naked in pre-Constantinian times. Against this opinion see Dr. J. Strzygowski, *Iconographie der Taufe Christi*, p. 3, München, 1885, and the fresco in the cemetery of SS. Petrus and Marcellinus described below.

*Ex. 2. Fresco in the Gallery of the Sacraments  
in S. Callistus. c. 200.*

The so-called gallery of the sacraments in the cemetery of S. Callistus dates from the second or early part of the third century. The sacrament of baptism is represented in the two oldest cubicula.

In the first, A<sup>2</sup>, the baptizer stands on dry ground to the left of the picture (Fig. 2). He is clothed in a white toga, and his feet are bare. He lays his right hand on the head of the catechumen, and in his left holds an object generally considered to be a scroll.



Fig. 2.

The catechumen is represented as a boy, nude, holding his hands straight down and inclining a little to the left

towards the baptizer. The water rises to the ankles.

The fresco is between two loculi; above the upper one is a shipwreck, and in the corresponding place on the wall to the left is Moses striking the rock and a man fishing in the water which flows from it<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> De Waal, *R. Q. S.* 1896, p. 344.—De Rossi, vol. ii, tav. 11 and 15, cc. 12 and 13.—Garr., vol. ii, tav. 5, 3.

*Ex. 3. Fresco in the Gallery of the Sacraments  
in S. Callistus. c. 200.*

In the other cubiculum, A<sup>3</sup>, the baptizer stands on the right side with bare feet and a cloth round his loins (Fig. 3). The catechumen is again represented as a boy, nude, holding his hands down and slightly turning his face away. Both are standing in the water, and the baptizer is in the act of pouring water over his head. The falling water is represented by six large strokes of dark blue paint. The dove behind the right-hand figure flies towards the group.



Fig. 3.

Above is represented Jonah being cast out of the ship and swallowed by the whale, to the left is a man fishing, to the right a man carrying his bed, generally described as the paralytic (Mark ii. 12), but more probably intended for the sick man of Bethesda (John v. 9). The symbolism of the whole leaves no doubt that a scene of baptism is represented, while the absence of the dove in the first example suggests that it is perhaps a catechumen rather than our Saviour that we have before us <sup>1</sup>.

In the reproduction in De Rossi the strokes indicating the water are too finely drawn, and the water-line is represented as passing behind the knees and leaving the baptizer's feet dry as well as those of the baptized down to the ankles, below which he shows the picture as destroyed. Garrucci and others copy him. The water should cover the ankles, allowing the feet to show through the water. The dove is omitted in De Rossi and Garr., but is given in the *R. Q. S.* The picture in the latter is

<sup>1</sup> De Waal, *R. Q. S.* 1896, p. 344.—De Rossi, vol. ii, tav. 13 and 16, cc. 12 and 13.—Garr., vol. ii, tav. 7, 2.



reproduced by photography from a painting and does not show the blue strokes of water.

*Ex. 4. Fresco in the Cemetery of SS. Petrus and Marcellinus. c. 250.*

Another representation occurs in the roof of cubiculum 54 in the cemetery of SS. Petrus and Marcellinus (Bosio's numbering), and dates from the middle of the third century



Fig. 4.

(Fig. 4). The Baptist is represented on the left standing on dry ground with his left foot raised on a stone, leaning a little forward and laying his right hand on the head of Christ. He wears a cloak or skin reaching to the knees and leaving the right shoulder and arm free. The Saviour is represented as a nude boy,

standing in the water, and His arms raised as in prayer. Above in the clouds is the dove flying downwards.

The dove, taken with the fact that the three corresponding scenes represent the Magi following the star, the Adoration, and (?) the Annunciation, leaves no doubt as to the subject and forms a link to Ex. 1 in the crypt of Lucina, where the baptism of Christ is represented, and Exx. 2 and 3 where the person baptized is a boy<sup>1</sup>.

It is interesting to note that the newly baptized were commonly called *pueri* or *infantes* (cf. Le Blant, *Étude sur les sarcophages chrétiens antiques de la ville d'Arles*, p. 27). The custom of giving them a mixture of milk and honey mentioned by Tertullian (*De Cor.* 3, *Adv. Marc.* i, 14: 'Ille [Dominus] . . . nec aquam reprobavit creatoris, qua suos abluit, nec oleum,

<sup>1</sup> Wilpert, J., *Ein Cyclus christologischer Gemälde aus der Katacombe der heiligen Petrus und Marcellinus*, Freiburg im B., 1891.

quo suos unguīt, nec mellis et lactis societatem, qua suos infantat') is enjoined in the *Canons of Hippolytus*, ch. 19, § 144, as teaching them that they have become as little children, 'ut doceant eos qui communicant iterum se natos esse ut parvuli, quia parvuli communicant lac et mel.' In § 148 however the custom is regarded as a symbol of the future life in the promised land, the waters of baptism corresponding to those of the Jordan, and thus further emphasizing the similarity of the baptism of Christ as conceived in the popular imagination with the administration of the sacrament as men were accustomed to witness it. Later tradition declared that the stone on which the Baptist stood while pouring the water over our Saviour's head was preserved in the church on the banks of the Jordan at the traditional place of Christ's baptism, where it served as the prototype of the bishop's cancellarium usually found in early Christian baptisteries. (Garr., vol. i, p. 368, quoting Epiphanius.)<sup>1</sup>

Another example is mentioned by De Waal (*R. Q. S.* 1896, p. 346) as having been discovered by Wilpert in the cemetery of Domitilla but as not having been edited. No description is given, but it is attributed to the same period as the examples above.

Beyond these there are two pictures of doubtful significance, and two with possible but improbable reference to baptism.

*Ex. 5. Fresco in the Cemetery of Praettestatus.*  
*Second century.*

In the cemetery of Praettestatus there is a fresco, dating from the end of the second century, the meaning of which has been much disputed. It represents three beardless figures, clothed in tunic and toga but with bare feet (Fig. 5). That on the right stands with the head slightly turned to the left; the two figures on the left hold long cane-stalks with leaves in their hands; that in the hand of the central figure touches the head of the figure to the right, round whose head are short

<sup>1</sup> *Peregrinatio Silviae*, ed. Gamurrini, ch. 68, p. 98, who quotes Paulinus *Ep. 21 ad Sev.* and the *Itinerarium Burdigalense*.

strokes of paint. To the extreme right is a growing cane on the bend of which is a dove. Near the picture are painted the woman with the issue of blood and the woman of Samaria, giving no clue to the meaning of the scene.

This fresco is usually interpreted as the Passion of Christ, though mainly on the ground that the figures are clothed and so could not represent baptism 'by immersion.' Passion scenes are rare at so early a date, but baptism scenes it is true are hardly less so. The whole is in a peculiar style of painting



Fig. 5 (after Garrucci).

due, according to De Rossi, to the work having been executed by Greek artists.

On the other hand the presence of the dove would seem to indicate baptism; the canes have been interpreted as symbolizing the Jordan; and the second figure may be a disciple witnessing the event, or a representative of the church as in the mosaics in the church of S. Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna in the series depicting our Lord's miracles. The marks round the head, usually explained as representing the crown of thorns, have a parallel in the indications of water in the fresco in the cemetery of S. Callistus (Ex. 3) mentioned above, though here they are much smaller<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Garr., vol. i, p. 368, and vol. ii, tav. 39, 1.—De Rossi, *Bullettino di archeologia cristiana*, 1872, p. 64.

Garrucci first explains the fresco as a scene of the Passion; then, after a long discussion, concludes that it represents our Lord's baptism. De Rossi in the *Bullettino* describes it as the mocking of the soldiers, though without discussing the question. F. X. Kraus interprets it as the crowning with thorns, and refers to Le Blant (*Revue de l'art chrétien*, 1894, p. 37) as seeing Docetic influence in it, *Geschichte der christlichen Kunst*, vol. i, p. 161, Freiburg im B., 1896.

*Ex. 6. Symbolical fresco in S. Callistus.  
Third century.*

The region of S. Soter in the cemetery of S. Callistus dates from the third century. A fresco painted on the semicircle at the back of an arcosolium in one of its chambers has given it

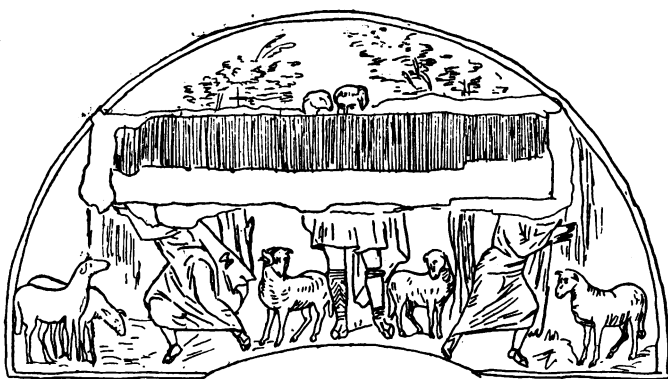


Fig. 6 (after Garrucci).

the name of the chapel of the sheep. A loculus has been cut across the picture since it was painted, but its general features are clear (Fig. 6).

In the centre is the Good Shepherd carrying a sheep on His back and with two at His feet. On either side water is falling and two men are hurrying to it, holding out their hands to drink from it. Below are sheep at each corner, over which the water descends in a shower.

On the wall to the right is represented a beardless Moses

raising his left foot on a stone to loosen his shoe, then a bearded figure striking the rock, while a third hastens toward it holding



Fig. 7 (after Garrucci).

out his hands in the same attitude as the two figures in the central painting (Fig. 7). The painting opposite represents the miracle of the multiplication of the loaves<sup>1</sup>.

To understand the significance of this picture we must consider three post-Constantinian representations of baptism.

### *Ex. 7. Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus. 359.*

The sarcophagus of Junius Bassus in the Crypt of S. Peter's dates from the year 359. Its front consists of a double row of scenes from the Old and New Testaments, standing in the recesses of an arcade of carved and twisted pillars. In the spandrels of the lower arcade are small reliefs in which Christ and the Christian disciple are represented as lambs. In the second space from the right He is represented laying His right fore foot on the head of the disciple lamb, while a stream flows over its head from the beak of a dove and the hind quarters of the lamb are covered with a stream that flows down from a rock (Fig. 8).



Fig. 8.

The other reliefs represent:—first, on the right, raising of the dead (much damaged); second, the receiving of the law (?); third, the Lamb multiplying loaves; fourth, the Christ

<sup>1</sup> De Rossi, vol. ii, Tav. d'Aggiunta A, and vol. iii, p. 70, tav. 9.—Garr., vol. ii, tav. 18, 2 and 4.

Lamb striking the rock (while a disciple lamb drinks from the water which flows down in a stream similar to that represented in the Baptism scene); and fifth, the Christ Lamb meeting the disciple lamb in a ship at sea,

The similarity of the cycle with that in the Chapel of the Sacraments in the cemetery of S. Callistus leaves no doubt of the meaning of the relief<sup>1</sup>.

The engraving in Garrucci fails to give the water flowing over the hind quarters of the lamb.

*Ex. 8. Unpublished drawing of a Sarcophagus.*

De Rossi (*Bullettino*, 1876, p. 11) refers to an unpublished drawing of a sarcophagus made by a Flemish archaeologist Philip de Winghe, in which 'the centre of the front is occupied by the mystic lamb, whose feet are in a stream, while on its head and back there flow two streams of water from the dove which descends from heaven.'

The feature of the stream flowing from the dove's mouth reappears in the mosaic representing the Baptism of Christ in the Arian baptistery of Ravenna (S. Maria in Cosmedin). According to Strzygowsky the same feature was in the original in the orthodox baptistery, but was destroyed and remade to represent the water as poured from a vessel in the hand of the Baptist (*Icon. d. Taufe Christi*, p. 10).

*Ex. 9. Sarcophagus at Arles. I. Fourth-fifth centuries.*

In the third chapel of the museum at Arles is a representation of the Baptism of our Lord on the small end of a sarcophagus of the fourth or fifth century.

The Baptist is represented bearded, standing on the left, clothed in a skin which leaves his right shoulder free (Fig. 9). He lays his right hand on the head of the Saviour and slightly raises the left. The Saviour is represented as a

<sup>1</sup> Garr., vol. v, tav. 322.—*Bull.* 1876, 10-11.—*R. Q. S.* 1896, p. 325.

nude boy with his arms slightly raised and hands held up, and turning towards the water which falls in a mass like a



Fig. 9 (after Garrucci).

stream of water, and on the other half (if the two parts really belong to one another) is represented a figure in tunic and pallium holding a scroll in his hand. The whole is very roughly executed; the water flows over the feet of the



Fig. 10 (after Garrucci).

flows down (Fig. 10). On the right side of the water is a Jew in tunic and chlamys running towards it and

twisted pillar from a knob of rock in the centre. Over the head of the Baptist is the dove with outstretched wings flying down towards the middle. The stone is divided down the centre of the

Saviour (the engraving in Garrucci does not give this feature).

On the corresponding end is represented Moses, bearded, and clothed in a toga, striking a similar rock from which a similar stream

holding out his hands to catch it as it falls. In the space corresponding to that occupied by the Baptist is another figure in tunic and chlamys holding up his hand in a similar attitude. Such representations of Moses striking the rock with the water falling in this peculiar way are very common both at Arles and at Rome<sup>1</sup>.

With this should be compared the carving on another sarcophagus-end in the same museum.

*Ex. 10. Sarcophagus at Arles. II. Fourth or fifth century.*

On the left is represented a beardless figure clothed in a toga standing in front of a tree (Fig. 11). In the centre is



Fig. 11 (after Garrucci).

a stream of water flowing straight down from a knob of rock in the form described in the last example. In the middle of the stream directly under the rock stands a nude boy

<sup>1</sup> Garr., vol. v, tav. 351, 5 and 6.—Le Blant, *Sarcoph. d'Arles*, pl. xv. 1.



holding his hands down and turning his face to the right. The water half covers him.

The stone has either been sawn in two down the centre, or is joined to a similar piece on which is represented the stream of water towards which two figures are hastening to drink<sup>1</sup>.

The engraving in Garrucci represents the boy as more covered by the water than he is in the original carving.

With these it is interesting to compare a passage in the 'African Acts of S. Perpetua' (J. A. Robinson: *Texts and Studies*, Cambridge, vol. i, p. 29).

In her second vision the saint sees her brother Dinocrates, who had died at the age of seven years and no doubt without having been baptized, trying to get at the water of a font (piscina, κολυμβήθρα) to drink, but is unable to do so as the rim is above his head. In a later vision she sees him cleansed, clothed and refreshed, the rim of the font is lowered to his waist, the normal level, and he drinks water out of a stream that never fails, which she interprets as a sign that he has had the loss of the sacrament on earth made good to him in heaven.

'Erat deinde in ipso loco ubi Dinocrates erat piscina plena aqua, altiore marginem habens quam erat statura pueri, et extendebat se Dinocrates quasi bibiturus. Ego dolebam quod et piscina illa aquam habebat, et tamen propter altitudinem marginis bibiturus non esset. Et experrecta sum et cognovi fratrem meum laborare. Sed fidebam me profuturam labori eius, et orabam pro eo omnibus diebus quousque transivimus in carcerem castrensem, munere enim castrensi eramus pugnaturi; natale tunc Getae Caesaris. Et feci pro illo orationem die et nocte gemens et lacrymans ut mihi donaretur. Die quo in nervo mansimus ostensum est mihi hoc; video locum illum quem retro videram et Dinocratem mundo corpore bene vestitum refrigerantem, et ubi erat vulnus video cicatricem, et piscinam illam quam retro videram, submisso margine ad umbilicum pueri, et aquam de ea trahebat sine

<sup>1</sup> Garr., vol. v, tav. 398, 9.—Le Blant, pl. i. figs. 2 and 3.

cessatione; et accessit Dinocrates et de ea bibere coepit; quae fiala non deficiebat, et satiatu accessit de aqua ludere more infantium gaudens et experrecta sum. Tunc intellexi translatum eum esse de poena.' Ch. 7.

From these examples we see the close connexion of idea in all these subjects. In each sarcophagus the representation of Moses striking the rock so frequently associated with the figures hastening to drink is connected with that of baptism; in the case of Ex. 9 with the baptism of Christ, in Ex. 10 with that of a catechumen, while in Ex. 7 the catechumen, and in Ex. 8 Christ, are each symbolized by a sheep.

In the vision of S. Perpetua we have the same idea of the drinking of the water directly connected with baptism.

This general agreement in the fourth and fifth centuries from France, Spain, and Rome points to a widespread conventional symbolism. Christian sarcophagi do not show much originality in execution, and repeat designs in forms little different from those generally found in the catacombs. These would need some time to become established and to spread throughout the West. This fact, supported by the second-century evidence from Africa, justifies us in holding that the fresco in the chapel of the sheep in S. Callistus (Ex. 6) should be interpreted as a symbolical representation of baptism.

*Exx. 11, 12. Gold treasure from Sinigaglia.  
Seventh or eighth century.*

This interpretation is further confirmed by a similar symbolic representation of baptism on a gold treasure found in 1880 near Sinigaglia, and which came into the possession of Cav. C. Rossi. The work is in the Lombard or late Ravennese style, and is possibly as late as the seventh or eighth century, but it carries on the traditional symbolism of the lamb and the fish so frequently found in the catacombs. In one scene a bishop is represented, standing on a mound with two sheep

on each side (Fig. 12). He holds a palm branch in his left hand, and in his right is a jug from which he pours water



Fig. 12.

over one of the sheep. There can be no doubt that this is intended to symbolize baptism as the corresponding picture portrays the Eucharist; and that the sacrament so symbolized was administered by affusion is proved by another scene on the same casket, where a bishop is repre-

sented in his vestments, holding a pastoral staff in his left hand, while he pours water over the head of a kneeling woman out of a spoon or bowl which he holds in his right (Fig. 13)<sup>1</sup>.



Fig. 13.

### *Three doubtful representations.*

A fresco in the cemetery of SS. Petrus and Marcellinus is generally interpreted as the healing of the blind, but might possibly refer to baptism.

<sup>1</sup> *R. Q. S.* 1888, p. 148.

It represents a beardless figure clothed in a tunic and chlamys and holding a rod in his left hand, while he lays his right on the head of a boy who is clothed in a short tunic and barefoot. The boy seems to lean back a little and hold his hands in front of him, in which action Garrucci sees an indication of blindness.

The companion picture represents a similar beardless figure striking the rock. The rod in the hand of the principal figure suggests some connexion of idea between the two, and the healing of the blind is generally represented by the touching of the eyes, rather than the laying on of hands ; but the absence of any indication of water makes the reference to baptism very doubtful<sup>1</sup>.

A somewhat similar picture formerly in a cemetery on the Via Latina (Garr. 40, 1) now destroyed, and a picture in the cemetery of S. Domitilla, where a woman lays her hands on the head of a girl (Garr. 33, 3), suggest that we have here merely a scene of benediction.

Another painting in the cemetery of S. Priscilla may possibly represent baptism. A figure to the right lays his hand on the head of another who is clothed in a long white dress. After careful examination this has been pronounced by Mgr. de Waal as a representation of the healing of the blind, but solely on the ground that the figure is clothed<sup>2</sup>.

*Ex. 13. Glass fragment in the Vatican. Fourth or fifth century.*

This, however, is no conclusive proof, as is shown by the cut-glass fragment of the fourth or fifth century found in the ruins of the Roman house near the baths of Diocletian, and now in the Museo Cristiano of the Vatican Library. On it is a clothed child apparently about to step to the right out of

<sup>1</sup> Garr., vol. ii, tav. 44, 2 and 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Bull.* 1888, tav. iii.—Hennecke, E., *Altchristliche Malerei und altkirchliche Literatur*, p. 70, Leipzig, 1896.

some vessel or pool which has been broken off (Fig. 14). She turns her head to the left towards a male figure clothed in



Fig. 14 (after Garrucci).

a toga with a halo round his head. He points with the right hand to the child and turns his head to the left, as if others were following from that direction. His name Mirax is given as well as that of the child Alba. Above from an inverted pitcher-mouth a stream

descends on the child's head, the hand of a figure to the right is laid on the head also; the rest is broken off. A dove flies down to the left with an olive branch in its beak<sup>1</sup>.

It has been suggested that *alba* = *albata*, and that the child has been clothed in white after the actual baptism (cf. the *consignatorium alvatorum* built at Naples, below, p. 339). In the absence of further indications, all we can say is that this fresco in the cemetery of S. Priscilla may very well represent baptism, but we have no sufficient proof to justify our using it as evidence.

### *Summary of evidence for the Ages of Persecution.*

To sum up the evidence from archaeology for and against the practice of baptism by immersion in pre-Constantinian times. We have four actual representations of the act, one

<sup>1</sup> Garr., vol. vi, 464, 1.—*Bull.* 1876, tav. 1, 1, pp. 7 ff.

from the first or early second century, two from the late second or early third, one from the middle of the third. We have one certain symbolical representation from the third, one possible one from the second or third. Two that are more than doubtful date from the third.

Of the five certain representations four come from the cemetery of S. Callistus, though only two from the same region, one from that of SS. Petrus and Marcellinus. In favour of immersion is the fact that the figure is represented naked and standing in the water in all examples that certainly refer to baptism (Exx. 1, 2, 3 & 4).

Against is the fact, that in no case is there any attempt to represent immersion, and in two cases the actual affusion is represented, once directly (Ex. 3), and once symbolically (Ex. 6).

In the three cases where the water is clearly marked it only rises above the feet, and is therefore not deep enough to allow of immersion.

In the paintings we have examined there is no sign of influence from liturgical custom, or of desire for historical accuracy. They are less self-conscious than those of later date, and seem to aim simply at representing what was felt to be the essential idea of baptism.

The obvious difficulty of representing immersion must be allowed its full weight. We have no evidence to show how it would have been attempted in pre-Constantinian times, but the frequent representations in the fourth-century sarcophagi of the drowning of the Egyptians suggest a very different treatment. It is interesting also to compare the picture of the Flood in the Vienna Genesis, the passage of the Red Sea on the gates of S. Sabina at Rome (Fig. 15), or that of the figure of the Jordan on the chair of Maximian at Ravenna (Ex. 42, Fig. 39), where the idea of immersion is intended to be expressed.

To conclude, the direct evidence from archaeology alone may not be conclusive to show that in pre-Constantinian times baptism by affusion only was practised generally, or

indeed in any one single case ; but it does show, that there was nothing repugnant in it to the general mind, that no stress was laid on total immersion, that the most important moments were held to be those when water was poured over the catechumen, and when the minister laid his hand on his head. This, taken in connexion with the known customs of later ages, makes it more than probable that the usual method of administration was by affusion only.

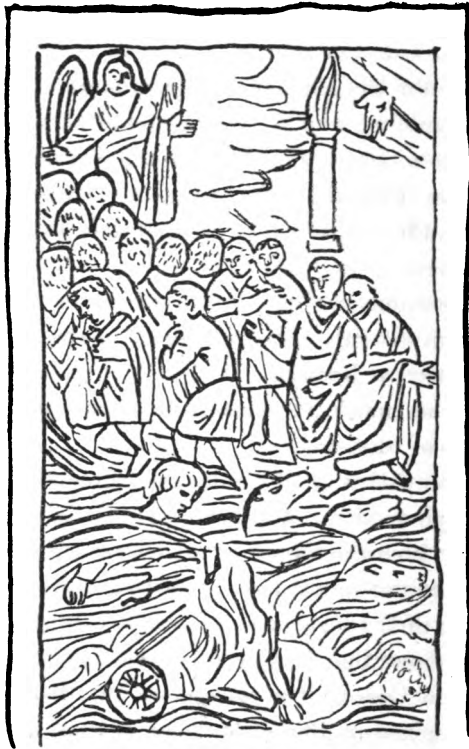


Fig. 15 (after Garrucci).

## CHAPTER II

### THE AGE OF THE COUNCILS

#### *Christian Sarcophagi.*

AFTER the conversion of Constantine the Christian community rapidly increased in wealth, and now that persecution had come to an end it was no longer necessary to bury underground in the catacombs, or to conceal the fact when a tomb belonged to one of the adherents of the favoured religion. These two causes combined to make sarcophagi the most characteristic examples of Christian art in the post-Nicene age; for as soon as there was no longer the same reason for buying cheaply from the 'ready-made' pagan shops, or being content with an ambiguous symbolism that would not attract attention from outsiders, an original style grew up that was purely Christian and was only very slightly influenced by the earlier artistic tradition of Rome.

On the other hand the marked similarity to one another in the examples that have survived, and the general low level of workmanship that they display, seem to prove that they were mere productions of journeymen-workers, turned out mechanically from the shop. This, however, while detracting from their artistic merit adds to their archaeological value; the fact that their choice and treatment of subjects are nearly stereotyped shows that they reflect in some degree the general mind of the church, and gives them a quasi-official sanction. We must not, however, press this point too far, as the conventional decoration of our modern cemeteries can hardly be said to represent fairly the average Christian sentiment of our own day.

Most of these sarcophagi are of Roman origin and have been collected in the Museo Cristiano at the Lateran. The next largest collection is that of Arles, while several more examples exist in various parts of Spain, France, and Italy.



Those dating from the second century are very simple, being merely ornamented with figures of the Good Shepherd or the female figure raising her hands in prayer generally known as an Orante. In the third century we find the ideas suggested by the former of these elaborated into pastoral and vintage scenes, a single design occupying as a rule the whole front of the sarcophagus. In the early fourth century this is resolved into a symmetrical disposition of a cycle of scenes usually separated from one another under arcades; while in later examples they are more crowded together and less clearly defined. The examples at Rome date almost entirely from before the troubles of the fifth century, though in France they probably continued to be produced till a somewhat later date. Those preserved at Ravenna are of a different type and represent a new tradition. Thus the evidence that we may draw from this source throws light on the custom of Latin Christianity and of the western Church generally in the fourth and early fifth centuries.

The baptismal representations on the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus (359), and on two of those at Arles, have been already described on pp. 248-251.

*Ex. 14. Sarcophagus at Ancona. Fourth century.*

On the lid of a sarcophagus in the cathedral of Ancona the



Fig. 16 (after Garrucci).

Saviour is represented as a nude boy, standing immediately under a stream of water which flows behind Him from a sort of rose (Fig. 16). He holds His hands down and leans slightly to the left towards the Baptist, who lays his right hand on His head, and slightly raises his left hand. To the right stands a figure (? of a prophet) with a scroll in his hand. There is no dove. The group is to the extreme right

of the lid of the sarcophagus, the other subjects being the Nativity and the Magi, Moses receiving the law (?), and David and Goliath (?)<sup>1</sup>.

The sarcophagus bears the name of Gorgonius; but in the opinion of Garrucci this can hardly refer to the man, mentioned by Symmachus, who became consul in the year 379, unless indeed he had his coffin prepared some time before his death, since there is no mention in the inscription of his having borne office.

*Ex. 15. Sarcophagus from Soissons. Fourth or fifth century.*

A sarcophagus of the fourth or fifth century was formerly at Soissons in the church of Ste. Marie. It had been used for the tomb of S. Vodalis who died 720 A.D., and was seen by Mabillon and published in the *Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti* in 1703-39.

On it Christ is represented on the right as a boy, nude, standing on dry ground, holding His hands down, and turning slightly to the left (Fig. 17). Two other figures clothed in tunic and pallium stand on the left, both of whom raise their right hands; the left foot of the figure nearer the Saviour is raised as if on a stone. Between Christ and the Baptist the water falls in a stream broadening from a point. The dove is seen above to the right.



Fig. 17 (after Garrucci).

The sarcophagus is divided into five arcades, and in the niche corresponding is Moses striking the rock; the other subjects are the woman with the issue of blood, the centurion, and the soldiers sleeping by the cross<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Garr., vol. v, tav. 326, 1.—Str., p. 6, and taf. 1, 6.

<sup>2</sup> Garr., vol. v, tav. 403, 4.—Le Blant, *Les sarcophages chrétiens de la Gaule*, p. 14.—Str. p. 6, taf. 1, 7.

*Ex. 16. Sarcophagus at Madrid.*

On a sarcophagus in the Academy of History in the National Museum of Madrid, Christ is represented as a boy, nude,



Fig. 18.

and nearly up to His knees in water which flows behind Him from a boss of rock above (Fig. 18). He holds His hands down and turns His head to the left. The Baptist, clothed in an exomis, stands on dry land on the left, laying his hand on the Saviour's head and slightly raising his left foot. The dove is represented above on the rock.

The other subjects are—Moses striking the rock, the healing of the blind, Christ surrounded by four apostles, and the sacrifice of Isaac<sup>1</sup>.

*Ex. 17. Sarcophagus at the Lateran. I.*

The baptism of Christ is twice represented on sarcophagi in the Lateran collection.



Fig. 19 (after Garrucci).

On that numbered 183 Christ appears as a boy, standing in the water which rises to His knees, holding His hands down and turning His face to the left (Fig. 19). The water

falls in two streams, one of which descends on the head of the Saviour, while the other takes the usual pillar-like form to

<sup>1</sup> Garr., vol. v, tav. 341, 3.—Str., p. 6, taf. 1, 8.

the right of the group and turning to the left flows over His feet. The Baptist stands on the opposite side, clothed in a skin, raising his left foot on a stone.

The hand of the Baptist holding a patera and the head of the Saviour are restorations, as well as (?) the first of the two streams just mentioned.

The other scenes are—Christ before Herod, the imprisonment of S. Peter, the manger and the shepherds, and the raising of Lazarus<sup>1</sup>.

No mention of the restorations is made in the official catalogue of the Museum.

*Ex. 18. Sarcophagus at the Lateran. II.*

No. 152 (a) is a fragment to the left of which the Baptist is represented as bearded, clothed in a woollen exomis and with bare feet. Christ stands nude, holding His hands down, while the water rises to His thighs. The top part of the carving is broken off, so that the position of the hand of the Baptist, the existence of the dove, and the source of the water cannot be determined. The rest of the fragment is occupied by a scene of the mystic feast of fish and bread<sup>2</sup>.

This fragment was discovered by Prof. Marucchi in the Vatican gallery, and was transferred to the Museo Cristiano in the Lateran in 1866.

*Ex. 19. Sarcophagus from  
S. Maria Antiqua.*

Another example has recently been discovered in the excavation of the church of S. Maria Antiqua in the Forum (Fig. 20). The Baptist, clothed in a toga, stands on dry ground to the



Fig. 20.

<sup>1</sup> Garr., vol. v, tav. 316, 1.—Str., p. 6, taf. 1, 9.

<sup>2</sup> De Rossi, *Bull.*, 1882, p. 90, tav. ix.

right and lays his hand on the head of the Saviour. Christ is represented as a boy, nude, and turning His head slightly to the left. The water rises to His knees. The dove appears over His head flying towards the right<sup>1</sup>.

*Three Sarcophagi in bad condition.*

Three others may be mentioned to make the list complete.

*Ex. 20.*

A part of a frieze from the Aliscamps at Arles, nearly destroyed by exposure to the weather; published by Le Blant from an earlier print<sup>2</sup>.

*Ex. 21.*

Another in a similar condition at Servannes near Arles, but described in a sixteenth-century Latin MS. at Paris, in the handwriting of Nicolas Claude Fabri de Peiresc, as possessing the same features of the dove and the falling water (Ioan. Bapta pellibus indutus baptizans superveniente columba aquam de coelis cadentem rostro gestante)<sup>3</sup>.

*Ex. 22.*

An unpublished sarcophagus in the basilica of SS. Nereus and Achilleus<sup>4</sup>.

Two others at Naples, believed by Ciampini (*Mon. vett.*, vol. ii, ch. 4) to be those of Agilulphus, husband of Theodelinda (590), and of Arrichius, second Duke of Beneventum (591), are probably spurious<sup>5</sup>.

A doubtful example occurs on a sarcophagus in the church of Le Mas d'Aire on the Adour in south-west France. At the

<sup>1</sup> *Bull.*, 1901, p. 205, tav. vi.

<sup>2</sup> Le Blant, *Sarcophages d'Arles*, xii, fig. 3, text 24, xvii.—Str., p. 7, taf. 1, 10.

<sup>3</sup> Garr., vol. v, tav. 316, 2.—Le Blant, xxix and xxx, text pp. 46 ff.—Str. p. 8, tav. 1, 13.

<sup>4</sup> Kraus, *Real-Encyclopædie*, art. 'Taufe,' and referred to by Grousset, *Études sur l'histoire des sarcophages chrétiens*, Paris, 1885, 105, n. 187.

<sup>5</sup> Kraus, *R.-E.*, art. 'Taufe,' p. 834.

extreme right a naked man is carved, turning towards the right, with hands slightly raised. Before him a robed figure, standing equally on both feet, lays his hand on the naked man's head. Both stand under a tree. No water is indicated, but a dove (?) sits in the tree. Next to this group are to be seen Adam and Eve on either side of the tree of knowledge<sup>1</sup>.

This may be intended for a scene of baptism, as the restoration to grace forfeited at the Fall, but is more probably intended for the Creation of man. Pératé (*Archéologie Chrétienne*, p. 323) describes it as 'le baptême d'un adolescent.'

### *Summary of evidence from Sarcophagi.*

Thus we have thirteen examples of the representation of the baptism of Christ from sarcophagi. In every case where the carving is perfect He is represented nude and as a boy, while the Baptist lays his hand on His head or at least raises it with that object. In one case (Ex. 15) He stands on dry ground, once the water flows over His feet (Ex. 9), twice it rises to His knees (Exx. 16, 17), once to the thighs (Ex. 18). In four cases it falls from a knob of rock or spout, in two of which it falls all over His body.

It will be noticed that in all examples hitherto cited, with the exception of Exx. 1, 4 and 9, the Saviour is represented as holding His hands down and not raising them in the attitude of prayer. The dove also is usually represented as visible at the moment of baptism; whereas in Luke iii. 21 it is stated that our Saviour was praying when the heavens opened, and in all three Gospels the dove is described as descending after He had gone up out of the water. It is obvious therefore that the conception of the scene is drawn from current practice rather than from the pages of Scripture.

In connexion with these it is interesting to study other

<sup>1</sup> Garr., vol. v, tav. 301, 3.—Le Blant, *Sarcophages de la Gaule*, p. 98 and pl. xxvi.

evidence from the western Church as to the mode of administering baptism to catechumens.

*Ex. 23. Tombstone from Aquileia. Fifth century.*

We have described the Vatican glass fragment above, Ex. 13. A similar treatment appears on a fifth-century tombstone at Aquileia, which was probably erected in memory of a young girl who died soon after her baptism.

She is represented as standing in a large bowl, nude, wearing a necklace,

and holding her hands down (Fig. 21). The water streams on her over the crescent-shaped lower edge of a circular opening which is sown with small crosses or stars

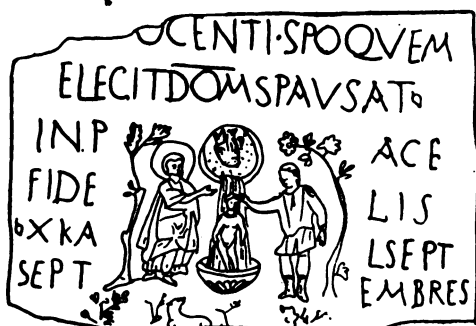


Fig. 21 (after Garrucci).

and out of which a dove flies. On the right a man in a tunic lays his hand on her head; to the left stands a haloed figure clothed in a toga and pointing to her with his right hand. There is a tree on each side of the group<sup>1</sup>.

This is described by Garrucci as an example of baptism by affusion 'as well as immersion' (!).

*Ex. 24. Spoon from Aquileia. Fourth or fifth century.*

From the same place comes a spoon, dating from the fourth or fifth century, with a scene of the same nature engraved on its bowl (Fig. 22). A nude figure stands in a large shallow

<sup>1</sup> Garr., vol. vi, tav. 487, 26.—*Bull.*, 1876, tav. 1, 2.

basin; above him appears the dove from whose beak the water descends. A figure to the left in an exomis holds a patera in the stream over the head of the catechumen, while another figure stands on the right. At the point of the spoon on the left is a figure in a toga standing by a sort of altar<sup>1</sup>.

This spoon, which was found with several others inscribed with various names, was probably not used for liturgical purposes. Possibly it was a present given on the occasion of the ceremony pictured on it.



Fig. 22 (after Garrucci).

The feature of the stream from the mouth of the dove occurs on the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus (Ex. 7), on the ivories in the Bodleian Library (Ex. 29), in the British Museum (Ex. 33), at Amiens (Ex. 30), at Milan (Ex. 28), on the MS. of Rabula (Ex. 34), in the Etzschmiadzin Gospel Book (Ex. 35), and in the mosaic of the Arian baptistery at Ravenna, all of which are described below.

### *Use of a patera in Baptism.*

According to Strzygowski (*Iconographie*, p. 10) this feature was also found in the original mosaic in the orthodox baptistery (S. Giovanni in Fonte) in the same city. He maintains that the patera from which the Baptist pours the water in the picture, as it now appears, must be due to a later restoration, on the ground that it is borrowed from a liturgical use first arising in the fourteenth century. A similar vessel is, however, represented on this spoon from Aquileia, which he seems to have overlooked.

In the so-called Attila treasure at Vienna are two paterae of gold weighing 287 gr. and 305 gr. respectively. They are each of the same design, and have a cross in the centre

<sup>1</sup> Garr., vol. vi, tav. 462, 8.



round which run letters read by Dr. Joseph Hampel as follows:—

ΔΕΛΥΔΑΤΟCΑΝΑΠΑΥCΟΝΑ(ΦΙ)ΕΙCΠ(Α)ΝΤΟΝΑΜΑΡ(sic)ΤΙΟΝ

διὰ ὕδατος ἀναπλῦσων ἀφίεις πάντων (sic) ἁμαρτιῶν (Fig. 23),  
 'if thou purifiest thyself with water thou shalt be free from all sin.' The word ὕδατος at least he considers to be certain. He holds that these paterae were baptismal vessels ('Taufschalen') and attributes them to the fourth or fifth century. Kondakov,

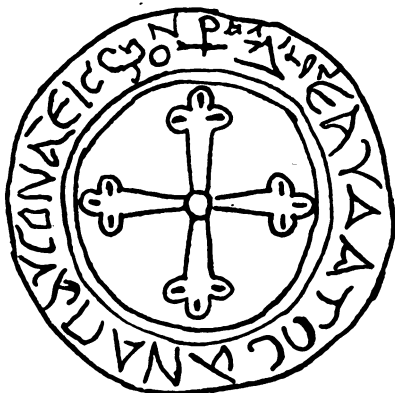


Fig. 23.

however, believes the letters to be Bulgarian, and would therefore assign them to a date later than 864, when the Bulgarian race adopted Christianity<sup>1</sup>.

There is good reason to suppose that a bronze bowl with a handle, found in ruins above the cemetery of Praettestatus and now in the Museo Kircheriano at Rome,

was also used for the administration of baptism. It is in the shape of a hemispherical pan embossed with anglers, boats, and fishes, and in the centre is the head of a river-god with crab-claws growing out of his head, like those on the head of the allegorical figure of Jordan in the Arian baptistery at Ravenna (Fig. 24)<sup>2</sup>.

In the history of S. Silvester in the *Liber Pontificalis* (314-335) we read that Constantine gave to the church which he built at Ostia a basin of silver for baptism weighing 20 pounds ('pelvem ex argento ad baptismum pens. lib. xx.' *Lib. Pont.*

<sup>1</sup> Hampel, J., *Der Goldfund von Nagy Szent Miklós*, Buda-Pesth, 1886, pp. 27 and 64, Fig. 16.—Kondakov, N. P., *Geschichte und Denkmäler des Byz. Emaille*, p. 39. Another at Odessa. Venturi, *Storia dell' arte Italiana*, vol. ii, 1902, p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Garr., vol. vi, tav. 461.

S. Silvester, ch. 28). The weight of this vessel shows it must have been used as a font, as in the two examples from Aquileia,



Fig. 24 (after Garrucci).

while the whole basin of the Lateran baptistery seems to have been covered with silver (*ib.* ch. 13). A similar gift was made by Xystus III (432-440) to the basilica of S. Laurence of a 'conca aurocalca pens. lib. xx,' as well as of 'ministerium ad baptismum vel paenitentiae ex argento pens. lib. v'; either a vessel used for oil, such as the 'patenam argenteam auroclusam chrismalem pens. lib. v' that Constantine gave to the 'titulus Equitii' near the baths of Diocletian, or one similar to that in the Museo Kircheriano described above (Xystus, ch. 6, Silvester, ch. 3).

*Ex. 25. Cross-shaft at Kells. c. 800.*

A similar vessel also appears in a baptismal scene on a broken cross-shaft at Kells, which

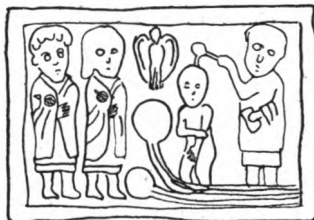


Fig. 25.

was the chief seat of the Columban monks about the year 800 A. D. (Fig. 25)<sup>1</sup>.

*Description of the Lateran font.*

The font in the baptistery which Constantine built at the Lateran is described in the *Liber Pontificalis* (Silvester, ch. 13) as having been made of porphyry and overlaid with silver. In the centre rose a candelabrum also of porphyry, ending in a golden vessel containing balm, which burning with a wick of asbestos served a double purpose of giving light and perfume. On the edge of the piscina, probably opposite the steps by which the catechumen entered the water, were life-sized silver figures of Christ and the Baptist. Between them was a lamb of gold, from whose mouth a stream of water fell into the basin (unless indeed it flowed in four streams from a rock at its feet, as so frequently represented in early Christian art), while seven figures of stags ranged round its parapet served the same purpose.

Fontem sanctum ubi baptizatus est Augustus Constantinus ex lapide porfyretico et ex omni parte coopertum intrinsecus et foris et desuper et quantum aquam continet ex argento purissimo lib. iii viii. In medio fontis columna porfyretica qui portat fiala aurea ubi candela est, pens. auro purissimo lib. lii, ubi ardet in diebus Paschae balsamum lib. cc, nixum vero ex stippe amianti. In labio fontis baptisterii agnum aureum fundentem aquam pens. lib. xxx, ad dexteram agni, Salvatorem ex argento purissimo, in pedibus v, pens. lib. clxx; in leva agni, beatum Iohannem Baptistam ex argento, in pedibus v, tenentem titulum scriptum qui hoc habet 'ecce agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit peccata mundi'; pens. lib. cxxv.

Cervos argenteos vii. fundentes aquam, pens. sing. lib. lxxx.

Tymiaterium ex auro purissimo cum gemmis prasinis xlviiii, pens. lib. xv.

Innocent I (401-417) gave a similar stag to the 'titulus Vestinae' weighing 25 pounds.

The figure of the stag is of frequent occurrence in connexion

<sup>1</sup> J. Romilly Allen, *Christian Symbolism in Great Britain and Ireland*, p. 231.

with baptisteries and baptismal scenes (e.g. at Salona, in the cemetery of Pontianus, &c.).

The water seems to have fallen in a stream from some such head in the baptistery of S. Stephen built by Eustorgius at Milan (early sixth cent.), which is thus described by Ennodius (*Carm.* ii. 149, Migne, *Patr. Lat.* lxiii. p. 361; cf. *Bull.*, 1876, p. 12):—

En sine nube pluit sub tectis imbre sereno,  
Et coeli facies pura ministrat aquas.  
Proflua marmoribus decurrunt flumina sacris,  
Atque iterum rorem parturit ecce lapis.  
Arida nam liquidos effundit pergula fontes,  
Et rursus natis unda superna venit.  
Sancta per aethereos emanat lympa recessus  
Eustorgii vatis ducta ministerio.

The present building at the Lateran dates as far as the lower part is concerned from the time of Xystus III (432-440), during whose pontificate the above description was written. He, however, probably altered the outline but little, and there is good reason to believe that the lists of Constantine's gifts were copied from contemporary records and do not represent later accumulations (Duchesne, *Lib. Pont.*, *ad loc.* notes; cf. also his description of the baptistery in *Origines du culte chrétien*, p. 298).

### *Analogies from the customs of the Baths.*

In Greek and Roman baths it was common for the water to flow from the heads of animals (*Dict. of Class. Antiq.*, art. 'Baths'). A Greek vase painting shows four women standing under such jets (Fig. 26). It was also customary for the attendant to pour water over the heads of the bathers, while the bath was always followed by anointing, as an unction by the bishop followed the act of baptism.

The orthodox baptistery at Ravenna was built by Bp. Neon in 449-452 A.D. on the foundations of an earlier building, supposed to have been a bath, while the Arian baptistery

was similarly adapted a few years later (Ricci, *Guida di Ravenna*, 1900, pp. 32 & 10).

We read in the story of the martyrdom of Perpetua that



Fig. 26.

when Saturnus was covered with blood from the bite of a leopard, the crowd in the amphitheatre jokingly cried out that he had been well bathed, using the language of the baths, which the author writing at the end of the second century interpreted as an allusion to baptism.

Inluxit dies victoriae illorum et processerunt de carcere in amphitheatrum... sequebatur Perpetua... item Felicitas salvam se peperisse gaudens ut ad bestias pugnaret, a sanguine ad sanguinem, ab obstetrice ad retiarium, lotura post partum baptismo secundo.

Et statim in fine spectaculi leopardo eiecto, de uno morsu tanto perfusus est (Saturnus) sanguine, ut populus revertenti illi secundi baptismatis testimonium reclamaverit 'salvum lotum, salvum lotum,' plane utique salvus erat qui hoc modo laverat. 'Salvum lotum' is a phrase of the baths to which *καλῶς λούσας* corresponds. (*Texts and Studies*, vol. i. *Passio Perpetuae* cc. 18 & 21; cf. *Introd.* p. 8.)

So fifty years later Cyprian argues that the recognized analogy of the baths must not be pressed too far. He had been asked whether men who received baptism in sickness

were to be counted true Christians, since they were not washed in the life-giving water but had only had a little poured over them (*eo quod aqua salutari non loti sint sed perfusi*). He explains it is not necessary for the whole body to be touched by the water, as if it were an actual bath with salt of nitre and a seat to wash yourself in, so that aspersion or perfusion is sufficient to constitute a valid sacrament (see below, p. 312).



Fig. 27.

*Analogy of Mithraic customs.*

The Mithraic custom of baptism as practised in the third and fourth centuries was probably borrowed from, or at least influenced by, Christian practice. A conception of new birth suggested by, or taught in opposition to, the Christian doctrine of baptism was supposed to be involved in the Taurobolium. In the ceremony the recipient sat in a trench under a platform on which a bull was killed in such a manner as to allow the blood to fall all over him. The man so purified was described as 'renatus.' Symbolically this was represented in art by a dog drinking at the stream that flowed from the neck of the bull slain by the young Mithra (Fig. 27), as

Christian baptism was symbolized by the Jews drinking from the rock struck by Moses, or S. Peter, or by lambs, or stags drinking at a fountain (Figs. 6, 10, 11, 38)<sup>1</sup>.

*Summary of evidence for the Age of the Councils.*

To sum up the conclusions drawn from the evidence from sarcophagi, from the analogy of the baths, and of Mithraic customs as to the practice of the Church in the Western empire.

In the fourth and fifth centuries baptism took place before a witness or witnesses, in a fixed spot, either in a structural baptistery, into which the water usually fell from a spout or figure-head, or in a movable basin. In the latter case the officiant poured water over the catechumen from a vessel; in the former he led him under one of the spouts, and either directed the flow over his head with the vessel or guided his head under the water with his hands. This we know from other sources was done three times.

An immersion *may* have preceded this, but there is no mention of a double act by any writer of early date, and at least it was not considered the most significant element of the rite. With the peace of the Church the ceremony has become slightly more elaborate, and the flow of water is fuller and more continuous owing to the influence of the baths. The officiant seems to have stood on a raised platform or step and not to have entered the water himself.

L'immersion baptismale ne doit pas s'entendre en ce sens que l'on plongeât entièrement dans l'eau la personne baptisée. Elle entrait dans la piscine, où la hauteur de l'eau n'était pas suffisante pour dépasser la taille d'un adulte; puis on la plaçait sous l'une des bouches d'où s'échappaient des jets d'eau; ou encore, on prenait de l'eau dans la piscine elle-même pour la répandre sur sa tête. C'est ainsi que le baptême est représenté sur les anciens monuments<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Bigg, C., *Christian Platonists of Alexandria*, p. 237.

<sup>2</sup> Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien*, p. 302; and also *Églises Séparées*, p. 93.

## CHAPTER III

### THE AGE OF NORTHERN INVASIONS

#### *Christian Art after the fifth century.*

THERE are but scanty remains of early Christian art dating from after the fifth century in Italy. The successive invasions of Goths, Vandals, and Lombards, if not destroying as much as is popularly supposed of the productions of earlier years, left the country impoverished, and as little inclined to spend much on costly works as it was able to train artists to execute them.

In the East, however, the policy of Diocletian in removing the seat of government from Rome, and the subsequent action of Constantine in establishing a strong centralized power at Byzantium, secured the firm holding together of the Empire for many centuries. As a consequence Byzantine art long survived that of Rome, and, in architecture at least, had a development that compares not unfavourably with the later evolution of the Gothic cathedral in the West. The gradual elaboration of Syrian architecture, with its small domed buildings, up to the construction of Justinian's great church of the Hagia Sophia is the most characteristic work of Byzantine genius, though at the same time it is the feature that has had the least influence on the artistic life of Western Europe.

The question of the nature and influence of Byzantine art cannot yet be said to be fully determined. Apart from church building its chief productions seem to have been illuminated manuscripts, and it was in executing them, and possibly also in making designs for woven stuffs, that its artists appear to have received their training. It became therefore a characteristic of its less important works that they were chiefly executed with the purpose of illustrating



continuous historical narratives, and whilst showing considerable skill in technique, they tended to become stereotyped and conventional from constant repetition of subjects that differed but little from one another. This influence is felt specially in mosaic work, ivory carving, and fresco painting, where it is generally a series of scenes that is pictured, though in such objects as flasks, gems, or medals the same style reappears<sup>1</sup>.

### *Ravenna.*

An exception to the general artistic poverty of Italy in the fifth and sixth centuries is to be found at Ravenna. As the seat of the court of Honorius and under the enlightened reign of Theodoric, it became for one hundred and fifty years the most important city of the West, and a series of monuments rose up within its walls upon which the most skilful artists of the day were employed, and which attracted the attention of Justinian.

The mosaic workers came from Rome, and the general plan of the churches, which are almost the sole remains of the former glory of the city, follows that of the Roman basilica, while the classical spirit is still felt in the drawing of the earlier figures in the Baptistry and S. Apollinare Nuovo. The vigour of the Gothic race appears in the originality of choice and treatment in the New Testament scenes in the nave of the latter; and the essential difference between northern and southern architecture is already seen in the mausoleum of Theodoric, for there for the first time the horizontal line gives way to the vertical as the characteristic feature in construction, and in its erection the first step was taken which inaugurated the change from classic styles of building, just as his reign may be said to be the first beginning of

<sup>1</sup> Kraus, F. X., *Geschichte der christlichen Kunst*, vol. i, bk. 9, and vol ii, bk. 13, Freiburg im B., 1896; Strzygowski, J., *Orient oder Rom*, Introd., Leipzig, 1901. For a different view see F. Wickoff, *Die Wiener Genesis*, Wien, 1895, who sees in Byzantine art merely the last stage of the decadence of that of Rome.

the Middle Ages. Theodoric had been brought up at the court of Byzantium, and the building of the church of S. Vitale fell in the time of Byzantine rule. If Justinian was not actually present at its consecration he regarded himself as in some sense its founder. He appears on the mosaics of its walls, and his authority seems to have modified the plan of the building, and to have decided that the gallery should rest not on wooden beams, as originally planned, but on stone arches in accordance with the rules of Byzantium<sup>1</sup>.

We have therefore at Ravenna an art in which three different streams of influence, Roman, Gothic, and Byzantine, united, and in which the extent to which each makes itself felt can be traced with something like precision.



Fig. 28 (after Garrucci).

*Ex. 26. Mosaic in the Orthodox Baptistry.*

449-452.

Two important baptism scenes are to be found in the mosaics of the baptisteries at Ravenna alluded to in the last

<sup>1</sup> Ricci, C., *Guida di Ravenna*, p. 40, Bologna, 1900.

chapter. That in the orthodox baptistery (Baptisterium Ursianum or S. Giovanni in Fonte) was probably set up by Bp. Neon in 449-452.

Here Christ is represented bearded and with a halo, holding His hands down to His side, naked, and standing in the water which rises to His waist (Fig. 28). On the left side is the Baptist wearing an exomis and with a halo. He stands on a promontory of rock with his left foot raised, holding a jewelled cross in his left hand, while with his right he pours water from a patera over the head of Christ. Overhead is the dove flying downwards vertically; in the water to the right is an allegorical figure of Jordan marked by the name, a bearded man with a reed, holding a cloth in his hands. Plants spring from the banks<sup>1</sup>.

According to Strzygowski the patera is a fourteenth-century restoration, as 'no such instrument was used till that date.' We have already considered the reasons for believing in its use at an earlier period. The head and right arm of the figure of Christ are restored, the halo and beard being possibly modern additions.

### *Ex. 27. Mosaic in the Arian Baptistery.*

In the Arian baptistery (S. Maria in Cosmedin) is a similar mosaic occupying a corresponding place in the centre of the dome.



Fig. 29 (after Garrucci).

In it Christ is represented beardless, with a halo, holding His hands down to His side, and up to His waist in water (Fig. 29). The dove flies down vertically from above, and from its beak a stream descends on the head of our Lord. The Baptist stands to the right on a rock which rises out of the water. He is clothed in a spotted

<sup>1</sup> Garr., vol. iv, tavv. 226 and 227.—Str., p. 10, taf. I, 14.

skin and holds a curved stick in his left hand, while he lays the right on the head of the Saviour. To the left sits Jordan, out of the water, and represented as an old man with two crab-claws growing out of his head, holding a reed in his right hand while he raises his left in astonishment (Pss. lxxvii. 16 and cxiv. 5)<sup>1</sup>.

These two examples fall within the first and second period respectively of the history of Ravenna's greatness, while Roman influences were still strong in her art, but had been weakened by being transplanted and modified by new surroundings. They show a new conception of the scene which almost entirely breaks away from the old tradition, and would appear to be due to an attempt to picture more exactly the scenes of the Gospels.

### *Influence of apocryphal writings.*

An interesting account of the apocryphal additions to the story of our Lord's baptism as related in the Gospels will be found in a work entitled *Ein bisher unbeachteter Bericht über die Taufe Jesu*, by Adolf Jacoby (Strassburg, Trübner, 1902). The author believes that he has traced them to a lost Church Order connected with the Syriac *Didascalia*, and therefore dating from the third century. In certain fragments of a fourth-century Epiphany sermon based on this document we find it related that at the baptism of our Lord the waters of the Jordan first fled back and then rose in a heap. Similar allusions to the miracle are quoted from Ephraem Syrus (325-379), Jacob Baradaeus (451), Jacob of Sarug (521), from several Epiphany sermons of the fifth or sixth centuries, Cyril of Jerusalem (348, *Cat.* xii. 15), from hymns of Anatolius (450), and the Ambrosian collection. The narratives of the pilgrim Antoninus Placentius (570-600) and others state that the miracle was repeated yearly, and references to the legend are found in Armenian and Coptic writings.

Jacoby believes that both the retiring of the water and the

<sup>1</sup> Garr., vol. iv, tav. 241.—Str., p. 10, taf. I, 15.

rising in a heap were dwelt on to emphasize the doctrine of the Divine Nature of our Lord ; and that the former, which is alluded to in all the above writings, was suggested by Pss. cxiv. 3, 5, lxxvii. 16, while the latter, which is less frequently dwelt upon, was regarded as an act of homage to the Incarnate Word, and found support in Ps. xxviii. 3 (LXX).

He further holds that the influence of this widespread tradition can be traced in Christian art, and to its influence he ascribes the feature of the symbolic representation of the Jordan first found in the Ravenna mosaic, and that of the water rising in a heap to the waist or neck of the Saviour; which first definitely appears in the fresco at Monza (Ex. 51, c. 700). It may be doubted, however, whether the legend had any great influence on the artistic representation of the scene, for though Jordan is shown in the Ravenna mosaics as holding up his hands in astonishment, the water is not represented as receding. The fear of the river is emphasized only in the ivories at Ravenna and in the British Museum (Figs. 39, 40), while in later examples the tendency is for the allegorical figure to occupy a subsidiary place or to be omitted altogether.

It is still more doubtful if the representation of the water as rising in a heap to cover our Lord's body has any connexion with the legend. It seems rather to be merely the conventional way of indicating the river in an age when the laws of perspective were not understood.

The whole legend is obviously based on the Old Testament stories of the passage of the Red Sea and of the passing of the Jordan by the Israelites, and the rising of the waters in a heap was supposed to have taken place, not round the Saviour's body for the purpose of covering Him, but in the stream above, that He might stand on dry land while He was being baptized, just as it stood to allow the Israelites to pass over dryshod. The only persons in the whole cycle of symbolism who are conceived of as submerged are the Egyptians who pursued after the Chosen People.

*Milan school of ivories. c. 500.*

The rule of Theodoric (493-526) secured a time of comparative prosperity for the rest of Italy; and though the government was in the hands of one of the conquering race the old Roman civilization continued with very little consciousness of change. The influence of Byzantium or of the Goth would have been felt less elsewhere than they both were at Ravenna, and in the art of this time the old tradition is still strong.

To this period may be assigned five ivories of probable Italian origin.

*Ex. 28. Ivory in the Cathedral at Milan. c. 500.*

An ivory 'five pieces' book-cover (? originally a diptych) in the treasury of the cathedral at Milan contains sixteen scenes from the life of Christ.

In that of the baptism He is represented as a beardless youth, nude, and standing up to His knees in water which falls from a pillar of rock in a copious stream behind and all round Him (Fig. 30). The Baptist stands also up to his knees in water, and holds a crooked staff in his left

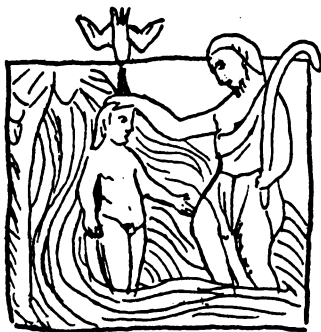


Fig. 30.

hand. A stream flows from the beak of the dove<sup>1</sup>.

Garrucci describes this last feature, which we have already noticed above (p. 267), as a ray, the symbol of grace, and quotes Chrysologus, *Serm. CLX*:—‘*Spiritus Sanctus in specie columbae totam in caput parentis novi chrismatis pinguedinem fundit ut impleat illud quod propheta dixit “Propterea unxit te Deus tuus oleo laetitiae”*’. This does not, however, exclude its being also intended for a stream of water, for we

<sup>1</sup> Garr., vol. vi, tav. 454.—Str., p. 13, taf. ii, 2.

may notice the same feature in the Aquileia spoon (Ex. 24, fig. 22), where it is in this stream that the baptizer holds his patera; while in the relief at Monza described below (Ex. 51), in the Berlin ivory from the Micheli collection (Ex. 52, fig. 44) as well as in Exx. 53 & 54 (fig. 45), the dove pours the water from a vessel held in its beak.

*Ex. 29. Ivory in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.*

c. 500.

A very similar treatment (Fig. 31) appears on another



Fig. 31.

book-cover in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, as one of twelve scenes in the life of the Saviour, who is represented in the centre throned and with the four evil beasts under His feet (Ps. xci. 13). The features of the pillar of rock, and of the water falling from it as well as from the dove's beak and rising to the Saviour's knees, are repeated,

while the Baptist holds the crooked staff but stands on dry ground raising his left foot<sup>1</sup>.

*Ex. 30. Ivory at Amiens. c. 500.*

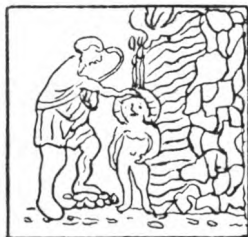


Fig. 32.

An ivory of the same school is in the possession of M. Mallet at Amiens, and was published by M. l'Abbé E. van Dreval in the *Revue de l'Art Chrétien*, XIX, 1875, pl. xix, p. 352. In it the Baptist is represented as clothed in an exomis, holding a crooked staff and raising his left foot (Fig. 32). There is a stream that

<sup>1</sup> Str., p. 12, taf. ii, 1.—Westwood, *Fictile Ivories in S. Kensington Museum*, p. 55, pl. 6.

flows from the dove as well as a broad stream falling from a bossy pillar of rock. The Saviour is pictured as a boy with a simple halo and on dry ground<sup>1</sup>.

*Ex. 31. Werden Ivory at South Kensington Museum.*

The carving on the remains of an ivory box in South Kensington Museum, and formerly at Werden in Rhenish Prussia, is of very similar workmanship to the last two examples (Fig. 33). The Saviour is represented as a nude boy and with a crossed halo. Both He and the Baptist are up to their knees in water, but on the left is a personification of the Jordan holding branches in his hands, leaning on a pitcher from which the water flows. The whole work is marked with a certain originality that seems to suggest the working of a new influence<sup>2</sup>.



Fig. 33 (after Garrucci).

Stuhlfauth<sup>3</sup> points out the similarity of these works, and believes them to be productions of a Milanese school of carving, and to date from the latter half of the fifth century. He holds that the example at Milan (Fig. 30) is the oldest, while that at Amiens (Fig. 32) he suggests may date from the period between the invasion of the Huns in 452 and that of the Ostrogoths in 490. The Bodleian example he considers to be Byzantine in its details and in the style of the seventh and ninth centuries: but he holds it to be a modern forgery, mainly however on the ground that it bears a Latin inscription. That at South Kensington (Fig. 33) he would place a little later, as having a crossed nimbus and generally showing a more

<sup>1</sup> Stuhlfauth, G., *Die altchristliche Elfenbeinplastik*, p. 75, Mohr, Freiburg i. B. and Leipzig, 1896.

<sup>2</sup> Garr., vol. vi, tav. 447, 3.—Westwood, No. 99.

<sup>3</sup> *Die altchristliche Elfenbeinplastik*, pp. 74, 77, 199.



developed style. Strzygowski<sup>1</sup>, on the other hand, considers this last example to date from the time of Theodosius (392-395), to which period he also ascribes the book-cover at Milan (Fig. 30); while he holds the Bodleian ivory (Fig. 31) to be a work of the school of Ravenna that became more and more influenced by Byzantium in the sixth century.

*Ex. 32. Ivory cover to the Missal of Gregory at Munich. ? c. 500.*

A fifth example of the same school, though not mentioned by Stuhlfauth, may be seen in the Royal Library at Munich, where it forms part of the cover of the so-called missal of Gregory the Great. (Cim. 143. Cod. Lat. 10077.)

The carving is somewhat worn, but the Saviour seems to be



Fig. 34.

represented as a boy without a halo (Fig. 34). The Baptist stands on dry ground, clothed in an exomis and holding a crooked staff; he raises his right foot while he lays his hand on our Lord's head. Jordan stands on the opposite side holding in his left arm a tree, and with an inverted pitcher from which the water

flows, rising to the thighs of the Saviour. The massacre of the Innocents appears above and the miracle of Cana below, as in the example from Amiens (Ex. 30, fig. 32). The ivory is attributed in the library catalogue to the eleventh or twelfth century, but the choice of subjects as well as certain peculiarities of treatment (e.g. the woman throwing up her hands in the scene of the massacre of the Innocents) seem to show that it is of the same school as the above example, and dates from the fifth or early sixth century.

<sup>1</sup> *Das Etzschmiadzin Evangeliar*, Wien, 1891. Cf. Kraus, *Geschichte der christlichen Kunst*, vol. i, p. 507.

*Ex. 33. Ivory in the British Museum. ? c. 500.*

To the same date may perhaps be referred an ivory in the Christian Antiquities room in the British Museum, in which the feature of the stream from the dove's beak reappears (Fig. 35). In it the Saviour is represented as a nude boy, with a halo, holding His hands down and standing on the ground.



Fig. 35 (from a photograph).

The head alone of the dove appears. The Baptist is scantily clothed in an exomis which leaves both arms and legs bare, and he lays his hand on the Saviour's head. To the left stands a bearded figure with wings, and clothed in a toga. There are indications of water behind the feet of Christ. On either side are candlesticks similar to those on an early fifth-century silver casket in the Museo Cristiano at the Vatican, and to those on a sarcophagus at Ravenna of the same period. The rest of the ivory is occupied with the finding of Christ in the temple, a rare subject which, however, also occurs on the Milan ivory.

This example is ascribed to the fifth century, but its peculiar features make it difficult to assign it to any particular place or date <sup>1</sup>.

*• Oriental types. Ex. 34. Rabula MS. at Florence. 586.*

The first baptism scene in which Christ appears bearded (if the mosaic at Ravenna has been altered in restoration) is in one of the miniatures of the Syriac Rabula MS. in the Biblioteca Laurenziana in Florence (Fig. 36). In it the Baptist is represented in the usual attitude, raising his left foot, but

<sup>1</sup> Dalton, O. M., *Catalogue of Early Christian Antiquities in the British Museum*, 1901, No. 293.—Graeven, H., *Elfenbeinwerke aus Sammlungen in England*, No. 22.—Westwood, No. 154.

stooping as the Saviour is immersed in the water as far as the waist. He turns His head a little aside, and the stream or ray descends on it from above, where the hand with two outstretched fingers appears in the heavens and beneath it flies the dove. The Jordan is marked by banks on which flowers are growing<sup>1</sup>.



Fig. 36.

The monk Rabula lived at Zagba in Mesopotamia and wrote the MS. in 586. It is the earliest example that we possess of the art of illumination by miniatures that had such

a wonderful development in the later Middle Ages, and undoubtedly influenced the work of the schools of Karl the Great (Kraus, F. X., *Gesch. d. christl. Kunst*, I, 463 & II, 25. Freiburg im B., 1895-7).

*Ex. 35. Etzschmiadzin Gospel Book. c. 500.*

Very similar in design is a miniature in the Gospel book of Etzschmiadzin in Armenia. The hand in the heavens, the dove and the stream or ray reappear, but the Saviour is represented as beardless, without nimbus, and only immersed in the water as far as His loins.

Strzygowski considers that this proves the MS. to be earlier than the Rabula MS., and adds that while the style of dress and the type of the apostles' heads that appear in the margin suggest that it dates from the sixth century, the architectural ornamentation in which the pictures are set would seem to point to the fifth. He is inclined to attribute it therefore to the first half of the sixth. In any case the obvious connexion of the two miniatures would point to an archetype of earlier date than 586<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Garr., vol. iii, tav. 130.—Str., p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Strzygowsky, J., *Byzantinische Denkmäler*, I, *Das Etzschmiadzin Evangeliar*, p. 73 and taf. 6, 2, Wien, 1891.

*Ex. 36. Flask at Monza. Before 599.*

A flask at Monza may also be of Syrian origin. It is said to have been given by Gregory the Great to Theodolinda (599), but is probably of earlier date, and would seem to have served originally to bring back oil from the Holy Land, as is shown by its Greek lettering. It is ornamented with seven small scenes from the life of Christ. In that of the baptism the Saviour is represented as a boy in the water up to His knees. The Baptist in a tunic stands on dry ground raising his left foot. An angel on the right holding a cloth shows eastern influence. All three figures are haloed <sup>1</sup>.

*Ex. 37. Bronze Medal at the Vatican.*

A bronze medal in the Museo Cristiano shows Christ up to His knees in water. The Baptist raising his foot holds the crooked staff in his left hand and lays his right on the Saviour's head. The word IORDA is written underneath, and around is the legend 'Redemptio filiis hominum'. This object, if genuine, was probably a keepsake from the Holy Land <sup>2</sup>.

*Ex. 38. Censer from Syria. ? 6th century.*

A censer found at the convent of Mar Muza el Habashi, between Damascus and Palmyra, is now at the British Museum (Fig. 36 a). On it S. John is represented standing on the left with his right hand stretched out over the head of our Lord, who appears as a boy, holding His hands straight down, with the water rising to His knees. A single attendant angel holds a cloth and the dove appears overhead. There is a considerable distance between the hand of the Baptist and the head of the Saviour on which he appears to pour the water. The figures, however, are much worn, and in the companion scenes the hands are all of the same peculiar long shape, so

<sup>1</sup> Garr., vol. vi, tav. 433, 8.—Str., p. 14, taf. ii, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Garr., vol. vi, tav. 480, 15.—Str., p. 14, taf. ii, 6.—Bull., 1869, p. 58.

that it is impossible to say whether it was intended to show an act of affusion<sup>1</sup>.



Fig. 36 a.

The censer is attributed to the ninth or tenth centuries, but the scenes seem to follow a much earlier tradition and to be of the type found in the West in the fifth or sixth centuries, just as the fifth-century fonts of the Hauran seem to be of

the same type as those of Italy and Africa (pp. 327, 350).

*Ex. 39. Horn Medallion from Egypt. c. 500.*

A horn medallion, found in the burial ground of Achmim,



Fig. 37.

near Panopolis in Upper Egypt, represents the Baptist standing on the banks of the Jordan clothed in a short tunic and laying his hand on the Saviour's head (Fig. 37). Both are beardless, and our Lord wears a cloth round His loins. He crosses His hands over His breast and stands on dry ground. Both He and the Baptist have each a plain nimbus. The dove flies overhead, and on the right bank

stands an angel in a tunic holding a cloth. This object is attributed to c. 500<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Dalton, O. M., *Catalogue*, No. 540. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries in London*, 1872. Plate opp. p. 290.

<sup>2</sup> Forrer, R., *Die frühchristlichen Alterthümer aus dem Gräberfelde von Achmim-Panopolis*, taf. xi, 1, Strassburg, 1893 'Die Zeit der Herstellung dürfte die Mitte des ersten Jahrtausends n. Ch. sein.'

*Ex. 40. Seal at Rome. Sixth or seventh century.*

A seal, which he attributes to the sixth or seventh century, is mentioned by Stuhlfauth as existing in the museum of the German Campo Santo at Rome. He describes the figure of Christ as bearded, and mentions an angel holding a cloth as in the last example<sup>1</sup>.

*Ex. 41. Fresco in the Cemetery of Pontianus.  
Sixth century.*

In a fresco in the cemetery of S. Pontianus in Rome Christ is represented as an adult and standing up to His waist in

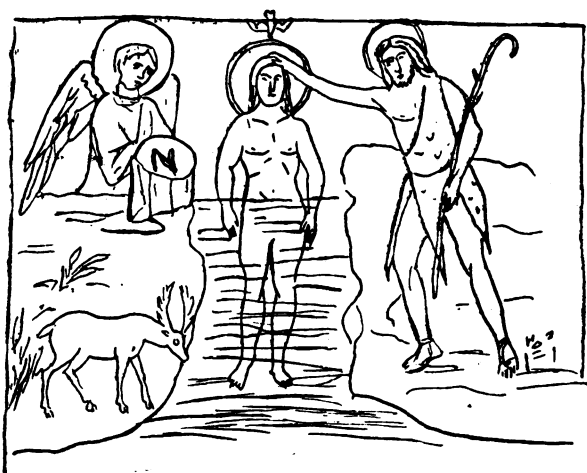


Fig. 38 (after Garrucci).

water (Fig. 38). He is bearded and has a plain nimbus round His head. The Baptist stands on a river bank to the right, holding a reed in his hands; an attendant angel, covering his hands with a cloth, appears on the left in a cloud. Below is a stag drinking. The painting has been attributed to the ninth

<sup>1</sup> Stuhlfauth, G., *Der Engel*, p. 193, Mohr, Freiburg im B., 1897.—*Bull.*, 1887, p. 48.—*Römische Quartalschrift*, 1887, tav. iv, 4, p. 113.

or tenth century, but seems to follow the older Roman tradition and more probably dates from the sixth<sup>1</sup>.

*Byzantine types.*

A new period of art as of literature arose with Justinian. It had certain well-defined characteristics of its own, and

created types that became fixed in later ages of decadence, and lasted far into the Middle Ages with little alteration.



Fig. 39.

*Ex. 42. Chair of Maximian at Ravenna. 454-556.*

The chair of Maximian (454-556) in the treasury of the cathedral at Ravenna still represents Christ as a boy, but the water is made to rise as high as His waist (Fig. 39). The Baptist clothed in a skin stands raising his foot as usual, while two angels with cloths stand on the right. Jordan is represented allegorically

in the water below as starting away in amazement. The dove appears as usual overhead<sup>2</sup>.

*Ex. 43. Ivory at the British Museum. II.  
? Sixth century.*

A very similar ivory carving is in the Mediaeval room at the British Museum, where it is described as Italian and of the sixth century. The workmanship is perhaps coarser, but the general disposition of the figures is the same (Fig. 40). The

<sup>1</sup> Garr., vol. ii, tav. 86, 3.—Marrucchi, O., *Éléments d'Archéologie Chrétienne*, vol. ii, p. 63.

<sup>2</sup> Garr., vol. vi, tav. 418, 2.—Str., p. 15, taf. ii, 8.

Baptist, clothed in an exomis, raises his left foot and lays his right hand on the Saviour's head, who is represented as a boy with a thick mass of curly hair. The water rises to His waist. Behind is a (?) female figure covering her hands with a cloth, and with a veil over her head; there were probably originally two such figures, but the right side of the ivory is imperfect. Below in the water is Jordan, with crab-claws growing out of his head, starting away in astonishment. Above is the hand appearing from heaven, while below is the dove holding in its beak a circular object. This may be intended for a crown or halo (as on a font at Liège, c. 1112), but it is more probably a patera; for though we do not find this feature elsewhere, it has a close parallel in the examples of Lombardo-Roman art cited below, where a pitcher is held by the dove in a similar manner<sup>1</sup>.



Fig. 40  
(from a photograph).

*Ex. 44. Ivory from Marsal.*

A fragment found at Marsal in Lothringen may have been part of a similar scene. Only the figure of Christ remains. The water rises to His thighs and His arms are crossed over His breast, an attitude, before the finding of the medal at Achmim (Ex. 39, fig. 37), known in no instance earlier than an Armenibibel in Munich. The water falls from a hand. The Baptist stood on the right, but the figure has been broken off, as well as those of the attendant angels if they originally existed. The Saviour is marked with a square nimbus, proving that the custom of restricting that form to persons still living

<sup>1</sup> Dalton, O. M., *Catalogue*, No. 294, pl. 7.—Graeven, H., *Elfenbeinwerke aus Sammlungen in England*, No. 28.



in this world was not without exceptions. The work is roughly executed <sup>1</sup>.

*Ex. 45. Pillar at Constantinople. Sixth century.*

A sixth-century representation of Christ's baptism appears in the carving of a pillar found at Constantinople, and now in the museum of the Tschinili Kiosk in that city. It shows our Lord up to His thighs in the water, with the same two attendant angels holding cloths on the left. The figure of the Baptist is much larger than that of our Lord, but we cannot tell whether He was pictured as a boy or with a beard as the head has been broken <sup>2</sup>.

*Ex. 46. Ring at Palermo. ? Sixth century.*

Two attendant angels also appear on a ring found at Syracuse and now in the museum at Palermo. The Saviour is described as standing up to His breast in the water, and the work is considered to be Byzantine and of the sixth or early seventh century <sup>3</sup>.

The scene is one of a series running round the hoop of the ring. The work is very minute, but in the reproduction in Kondakov the water appears to rise no higher than the waist. There are also scenes of the crucifixion and of the visit of the Maries to the sepulchre, which Kondakov thinks are similar in style to those on the flasks in the treasury at Monza (Ex. 36).

<sup>1</sup> Kraus, F. X., *Kunst und Alterthum in Elsass-Lothringen*, vol. iii, p. 309 and taf. ii.

<sup>2</sup> Sturzygowski, *Byz. Zeitschrift*, 1892, p. 575, 'Die alt. Byz. Plastik der Blütezeit,' reproduced in Schultze, *Archaeologie der altchristlichen Kunst*, p. 331.

<sup>3</sup> Salinar, *Del Real Museo di Palermo*, Palermo, 1873, pl. A. 1. *Arch. Journal*, vol. xxxviii, 1881, p. 154.—Kondakov, N., *Geschichte und Denkmäler des Byz. Emails*, p. 264. A precisely similar ring is to be seen in the gold collection of the British Museum, Dalton, O. M., *Catalogue*, No. 129, who refers to yet another formerly in the Pichon collection sale catalogue, 1897, No. 26, and figured by Schlumberger, *Mélanges d'arch. byz.*, p. 67.

*Lombard and Carolingian types.*

The seventh century in Italy is marked by the preponderance of barbarism in civil life, while all that survived of classic culture was being gathered into the monasteries. After the time of Gregory the Great (ob. 604) both liturgical custom and ecclesiastical art underwent considerable modifications, and it is from this era that it is usual to reckon the beginning of the Middle Ages.

After this date therefore we may expect to find two widely differing types of art. The one vigorous and original in idea, but rough in execution and only slightly influenced by tradition; the other continuing the older style on its general conception, but becoming more and more conventional, while the working of the new spirit appears in details.



Fig. 41 (from a photograph).

*Ex. 47. Rough ivory carving at South Kensington.*

To this period may be ascribed a very rough carving on ivory in South Kensington Museum, which represents Christ as

being baptized in a sort of tub-like font in which He stands immersed to the waist (Fig. 41). On the reverse side is a fine piece of work, probably of Carolingian origin and attributed to the eighth or ninth century. The inferior work must therefore be of earlier date<sup>1</sup>.

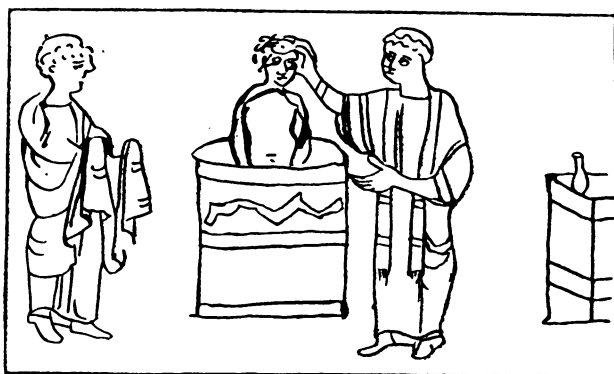


Fig. 42 (from a photograph).

*Ex. 48. The Wessobrunner Gebet. 814.*

In the 'Wessobrunner Gebet,' a MS. of the year 814, preserved in the library at Munich, is an illustration of the baptism of a Jew, who stands in a small circular font which reaches to his waist (Fig. 42)<sup>2</sup>.

*Ex. 49. Ivory from S. Mark's chair at Grado.  
Sixth or seventh century.*

An ivory originally forming part of the chair of S. Mark at Grado, and now in the Museo Archeologico at Milan, is considered by Graeven and Garrucci to be work of the seventh century. It represents the Evangelist baptizing Anianus with his wife and son, who stand up to the breast in water in a large tank (the son up to the neck), while

<sup>1</sup> Westwood, *Fictile Ivories*, No. 256.

<sup>2</sup> Reproduced in Springer, A., *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*, vol. ii, p. 93, Leipzig, 1902, 3rd edition.

the saint stands on dry ground (Fig. 43). If the date be correct this is the earliest representation of baptism in which submersion could be intended <sup>1</sup>.

The chair is said to have been brought from Alexandria to Constantinople and to have been presented to the church of Grado by the Emperor Heraclius (610-640). If this is the same chair the reliefs must have been executed at an earlier date, but they cannot, in the opinion of Graeven, be much older. A companion relief in the British Museum is attributed to the sixth century.



Fig. 43 (from a cast).

*Ex. 50. Paliotto of S. Ambrose at Milan. 827.*

The paliotto (altar frontal) of S. Ambrogio at Milan was set up in the year 827 by Archbishop Angilbert and executed by a certain Wolfinius, as shown by an inscription on the back. On it is represented the baptism of S. Ambrose, who stands naked in a small octagonal font which reaches to his thighs, while an attendant pours water over his head from a large pitcher <sup>2</sup>.

*Ex. 51. Relief at Monza. c. 700.*

The use of a pitcher also appears in a relief in S. Giovanni in Fonte at Monza (c. 700), where it is held in the beak of the dove, which flies down in the centre overhead and pours water from it over the head of the Saviour. The Baptist stands on the left, and there is one attendant angel holding

<sup>1</sup> Westwood, No. 156.—Graeven, H., *Frühchristliche und mittelalterliche Elfenbeinwerke aus Sammlungen in Italien*, Rom, 1900, No. 44.—Garr., vol. i. p. 570.

<sup>2</sup> Str., p. 36, tav. viii, 2.

a cloth to the right. The water is here for the first time definitely represented as rising miraculously in a heap, a feature which becomes very common in later times<sup>1</sup>.

*Ex. 52. Ivory from Micheli Collection at Berlin.*

An ivory in the Berlin Museum formerly belonging to the Micheli collection at Paris shows the dove as pouring



Fig. 44.

water from a pitcher over the Saviour's head, who is represented as a full-grown man, nude, holding His hands down and immersed in the water to His thighs (Fig. 44). The Baptist is clothed in an exomis of skin, holding a crooked staff, and on dry land. On the other side is the figure of Jordan, out of the water, nude, but with a cloth over his lap. He points upwards with his right hand, and in his left holds an inverted pitcher from which the water flows. Above are three winged

heads of angels holding cloths. The hand appears in heaven over the dove. The work is ascribed to the seventh century<sup>2</sup>.

*Ex. 53. Ivory at Strassburg.*

Another example presenting the same features is mentioned as being in the possession of Herr Forrer at Strassburg, and is mentioned by A. Jacoby in his *Bericht über die Taufe Jesu*. The hand of God appears above. The dove holds a pitcher in its beak, and an angel stands in the

<sup>1</sup> Str., p. 33, tav. viii, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Westwood, No. 240.—Str., p. 36, taf. viii, 3.

background to the right. S. John, on the left, lays his hand on the Saviour's head. Our Lord stands with the water rising above His thighs, and Jordan hastens in astonishment away to the right<sup>1</sup>.

*Ex. 54.*

The pitcher in the beak of the dove also appears in a tenth-century ivory at Rheims, which represents the baptism of Chlodwig (Fig. 45)<sup>2</sup>.



Fig. 45 (from a cast).

*Ex. 55. Gem found at Rome.*

A gem found at Rome represents the Baptist and our Lord, both clothed and standing in the water. The dove rests on the head of Christ whom S. John appears to embrace<sup>3</sup>. The water rises only as high as the ankles of the two figures.

This ring was bought by Mr. Fortnum and is now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford (No. 71 in the collection of Christian gems; cf. *The Archaeological Journal*, vol. xxxvii, 1880, p. 360, where it is said that the object may be anterior to the third century).

*Ex. 56. Fresco in a catacomb at Naples. 759.*

A symbol of the open heaven from which the dove descends appears in the fresco in the catacomb of S. Gennaro at Naples, which was painted soon after 759 under Greek influence (Fig. 46). The two attendant angels also appear holding cloths covering their hands, but they raise them and look up as if in prayer. The Saviour is in the water up to the thighs<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Jacoby, A., *Bericht über die Taufe Jesu*, Strassburg, 1902, p. 82.

<sup>2</sup> Westwood, No. 325.

<sup>3</sup> Garr., vol. vi, tav. 478, 41.—*Bull.*, 1877, p. 48.

<sup>4</sup> Garr., vol. ii, tav. 94, 3.—*Str.*, p. 18.

This is considered by Strzygowski to be the earliest instance in which the open heaven is represented, but we have already

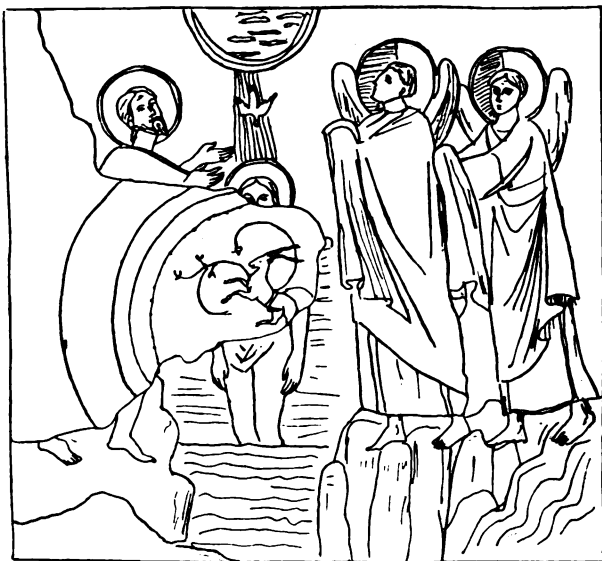


Fig. 46.

met with it on the gravestone from Aquileia (Ex. 24, fig. 21). How beautiful a feature this can be made can be seen in the



Fig. 47 (from a cast).

fresco by Fra Angelico in the cloister of San Marco at Florence, where the traditional arrangement is preserved as late as the fifteenth century in nearly all its details.

*Ex. 57. Ivory from  
Rheinau.*

On an ivory in a collection from Rheinau the Saviour stands with His feet in a small font (Fig. 47). The Baptist stands to the left, an angel on the right. The hand from

heaven and the dove with a stream issuing from its beak also appear, as well as the figure of Jordan seated on a pitcher, and another with a serpent and a fish symbolizing (?) earth and water <sup>1</sup>.

*Ex. 58. Ivory from Bamberg.*

An ivory in the Royal Library at Munich originally belonging to the cathedral at Bamberg shows an angel on the right, S. John on the left, as well as the hand and the dove (Fig. 48). The water rises in a heap to the waist, and above are symbolic figures of the sun and moon with a host of angels <sup>2</sup>.



Fig. 48 (from a cast).

*Ex. 59. Ivory at Darmstadt.*

Another ivory from western Germany now in the museum at Darmstadt shows Christ standing in a pool of water with a scalloped margin. Two angels stand on the right (Fig. 49) <sup>3</sup>.

The classic details of these three works and their selection of features from various schools suggest that we have in them examples of Carolingian art from the eighth or ninth century.



Fig. 49 (from a cast).

<sup>1</sup> Westwood, No. 277.

<sup>2</sup> *ib.*, No. 275.

<sup>3</sup> *ib.*, No. 299.



The second Council of Nicaea (787) ordered a uniform mode of picturing the scene. It ruled that Christ should be represented in the centre between the banks of the Jordan, with S. John on the left and the two attendant angels on the right, and so the similarity of treatment that had grown up by custom was stereotyped by a positive enactment. The custom of baptizing infants had by this time become almost universal, and as the administration of the sacrament no longer formed a striking public ceremony, all temptation to modify the pictorial representation of the Gospel scene by the influence of liturgical custom was still further removed.

*Ex. 60. Menologion of Basilus II. 976-1025.*

The earliest example of such an illustration is probably that in the menologion of Basilus II (976-1025) in the Vatican Library at Rome, where the correct disposition of the figures is observed, and the water is represented as covering the body and the shoulders<sup>1</sup>.

*Summary of evidence from the age of the  
northern invasions.*

It will be noticed that in the examples from the fifth and sixth centuries, where the older tradition is still strong, the water is made to rise to the knees, while it is still represented as falling from a rock or fountain-head (Exx. 28-30, figs. 30-32). In early Ravennese (Exx. 26, 27, figs. 28, 29) and Oriental art generally it is made to rise higher, to the thighs (Exx. 44, 45), or to the waist (Exx. 34, 35, 41, 43, figs. 38-40). In two later examples it rises to the breast (Exx. 46, 49, fig. 43), while in the latest example we have quoted (Ex. 60) it reaches as high as the neck. In all such examples, however, the Baptist is raised very little higher than the Saviour (though in the Rabula MS. he has to stoop), and in most

<sup>1</sup> Str., p. 19, tav. ii, 11.

cases it is only by disregarding the laws of perspective that the water can be so pictured. In the fresco at Monza (Ex. 51, c. 700) the difficulty is avoided by showing the water rising miraculously in a heap to the waist, and this feature appears frequently in later examples (e.g. in the paliotto of Salerno (eleventh century), the Egbert Codex at Trier (989-993), the font at Liège (1112), &c.). In many later examples it rises to the neck, but in no case does it cover the head.

*First traces of the custom of submersion.*

The Council of Chelsea (816) first ordered (Canon 11) that priests were to take care not merely to pour the consecrated water over the head of the infant, but always to 'immerse' it in the font, as the Son of God set us an example when He was thrice 'immersed' in the waters of Jordan.

Sciunt etiam presbyterii, quando sacrum baptismum ministrant, ut non effundant aquam sanctam super capita infantium sed semper mergantur in acria; sicut exemplum praebeuit per Semetipsum Dei Filius omni credenti, quando esset ter mergatus in undis Iordanis<sup>1</sup>.

It is curious to note that the misunderstanding of the word '*mergo*' (*mergatus*) appears as Latin begins to die out as a spoken language, and that it was in England that it was first understood as involving *submersion*.

In the middle of the ninth century baptism by affusion was evidently still the more common practice. Walafrid Strabo (849) comments on the fact that in the past 'immersion' was not considered necessary, and that in his day it was allowable to administer the sacrament by pouring water over the catechumen, as S. Laurence is said to have done in the case of the soldier who was converted by a vision of Christ wiping the limbs of the saint after he had suffered torture. 'It is with us usually so administered' he adds, 'in the case of an

<sup>1</sup> Darwell Stone, *Holy Baptism*, p. 271, Longmans, 1899.—Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, iii, 584 (who note on the word *acria*, 'This word stands for *aqua*, or possibly for *lavacro*').

older man who cannot be baptized in a small font.' It was evidently coming to be considered that 'immersion' must mean *total* immersion, and that this was the more perfect and primitive way, though as a rule it was not feasible, except in the case of children, in the fonts that existed.

*De Eccl. Reb.* XXVII. Notandum non solum mergendo verum etiam desuper fundendo multos baptizatos fuisse, et adhuc posse ita baptizari si necessitas sit, sicuti in passione beati Laurentii quendam urceo allato legimus baptizatum. Hoc etiam solet evenire cum provectionum granditas corporum in minoribus vasis tingi non patitur.

The modern Greek custom of dipping probably became universal in the East between the ninth and eleventh centuries, at the time when Byzantine art became stereotyped and so strongly marked by liturgical custom, and when original thought also gave way to rigid traditionalism. The Armenian church similarly adopted it, but retained the more primitive affusion side by side with the more recent practice.

In the time of Aquinas the newer mode of administration prevailed almost universally, and he declares it safer to baptize by 'immersion,' as it is the common use (*Summa* III, 66, 7. *Tutius est baptizare per modum immersionis quia hoc habet usus communior*), though other thirteenth-century evidence shows that even in this 'immersion' it was considered dangerous to allow the child's head to go under the water. (Augusti, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus der christlichen Archäologie*, vol. vii, ch. 9, p. 235.)

It is curious to notice how this anxiety as to the method adopted appears as infant baptism becomes the rule. Indeed it is difficult to see how any one but a small child can be said to *be* baptized, if the word is to be interpreted as involving *submersion*. This was felt by Duns Scotus, who declared a priest excused if he was weak, or if the candidate was a great country fellow whom he could not lift.

*Comment. in IV sentent.* dist. 3, qu. 4. Excusari potest minister a trina immersione, ut si minister sit impotens et si sit unus

magnus rusticus qui debet baptizari quem nec potest immergere nec elevare. (Augusti, p. 217.)

In the sixteenth century in the English and Roman ritual affusion is recognized as equally permissible, as was also the case in the Lutheran and Calvinistic bodies ; and since that time the mediaeval custom of dipping has ceased to be practised in the West except by the English Baptist community.

*Conclusion of positive evidence from Archaeology.*

To sum up :—

We notice from these sixty examples, ranging from the first to the tenth century and coming from Rome, Gaul, Spain, Milan, Ravenna, Armenia, Syria, Egypt, Byzantium, Sicily, Ireland, the Kingdom of Lombardy, and the court of Karl the Great, that the type is persistent, and lasts with little real alteration from the earliest times till it hands on the traditional form to mediaeval art. The oldest scenes simply represent the idea of baptism ; the slight modification of the fourth century is due to elaboration borrowed from liturgical custom ; and the more marked influence of Ravenna, Syria, and Byzantium is due to an attempt to secure historic realism. As far as there is any development in the actual mode of administration it is towards submersion, but the furthest step in that direction consists in representing the water as rising (in most cases miraculously) as high as the neck.

On the other hand :—

Illustrations of what probably indicates immersion are found in two pontificals attributed to the ninth century, one in the Minerva Library at Rome (Kraus, *Realencyclopädie*, art. 'Taufe' p. 838), and one in the Library at Windsor. Both are reproduced in Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, art. 'Baptism,' § 43. In both cases it is an infant that is about to be dipped, and in the latter a priest in alb and stole administers the rite while a bishop in chasuble and stole descends from

his desk and prepares to anoint the child. A similar scene occurs on the ivory book-cover of the Sacramentary of Drogo at Metz (ninth century), where eighteen liturgical and other



Fig. 50 (from a cast).



Fig. 51.

scenes are represented. In the eighth the water in a small font under a canopy is being consecrated, while in the ninth two small children are

being dipped. Another scene shows the baptism of Christ represented in the traditional manner, with Jordan and the attendant angels (Figs. 50 and 51)<sup>1</sup>.

We have seen then that all the evidence of archaeology goes to prove that the essential part of baptism was considered in the early Church to be the pouring of water over the candidate's head by the bishop, or the guiding his head under a descending stream, followed by the laying on of hands. There remains the question, whether this was preceded by a self-immersion, for a bishop could not have actually dipped a grown man: such an act might conceivably have taken place and yet not be represented, just as the anointing that undoubtedly followed does not appear in any of the examples we have examined that date from before the eighth century.

To answer this question we must consider the evidence of early Christian baptisteries.

<sup>1</sup> Westwood, No. 295.—Kraus, F. K., *Kunst und Alterthum in Elsass-Lothringen*, iii, 575.—*Geschichte*, ii, p. 16.

## CHAPTER IV

### BAPTISM WITHOUT A FONT

#### *Baptism in Apostolic times.*

BAPTISM in apostolic times was no doubt administered without any special font or building being set apart for the purpose. The 3,000 converts at Jerusalem (Acts ii. 41), the jailor at Philippi (xvi. 33), S. Paul at Damascus (ix. 18), the disciples at Ephesus (xix. 5), may have been baptized in some sort of bath, but it is difficult to imagine how the rite could have been carried out by submersion.

The eunuch of queen Candace was baptized in the open air (viii. 38), and the baptism of Lydia and her household (xvi. 15) may have taken place in the river near the place of prayer where she met S. Paul. Tertullian declares (*De Bapt.* 4) that S. Peter baptized in the Tiber, and he evidently contemplated the possibility of open-air baptism in his own day (c. 200).

Ideoque nulla distinctio est, mari quis an stagno flumine an fonte, lacu an alveo diluatur; nec quicquam refert inter eos, quos Ioannes in Iordane et quos Petrus in Tiberi tinxit, nisi et ille spado, quem Philippus inter vias fortuita aqua tinxit, plus salutis aut minus retulit.

#### *The place of Christ's baptism.*

The custom of open-air baptizing in the Jordan district continued at least as late as the fifth century. We have seen how such a scene of open-air baptism was interpreted in art, in the representations of our Lord's baptism. The natural features of the Holy Land, as well as local tradition, still further support this interpretation as being correct in the point we are considering, viz. the depth of the water.

‘At the foot of the hills there burst forth all the summer, not only such springs as we have in our own land, but large and copious fountains from three to twenty feet in breadth and *from one to three in depth*, with broad pools of fish, and some sending forth streams strong enough to work mills a few yards away. These fountain-heads, as they are called, are very characteristic features of the Syrian summer<sup>1</sup>.’

Sylvia of Aquitaine (385–388) describes the traditional spot as she saw it. The spring had a sort of pool in front where it was supposed S. John had baptized, and she was told that to that day the Easter baptisms for the candidates of that district took place in the same spot<sup>2</sup>.

Tunc ergo quia retinebam scriptum esse baptizasse sanctum Iohannem in Enon iuxta Salim requisivi de eo quam longe esset ipse locus. Tunc ait ille sanctus presbiter; ecce hic est in ducentis passibus; nam si vis ecce modo pedibus duco vos ibi. Nam haec aqua tam grandis et tam pura quam videtis in isto vico de ipso fonte venit. Tunc ergo gratias ei agere coepi et rogare ut duceret nos ad locum, sicut et factum est. Statim ergo coepimus ire cum eo pedibus totum per vallem amenissimam donec perveniremus usque ad hortum pomarium valde amenum, ubi ostendit nobis in medio fontem aquae optimae satis et pure, quia semel integrum fluvium demittebat. Habebat autem ante se ipse fons quasi lacum ubi parebat fuisse operatum sanctum Iohannem baptistam. Tunc dixit nobis ipse sanctus presbiter, in hodie hic hortus aliter non appellatur Greco sermone nisi copostu agiu iohanni, id est quod vos dicitis latine hortus sancti Iohannis. Nam et multi fratres sancti monachi de diversis locis venientes tendunt se ut laventur in eo loco. Denuo ergo et ad ipsum fontem sicut et in singulis locis facta est oratio et lecta est ipsa lectio, dictus etiam psalmus competens, singula et quae consuetudinis nobis erat ubicunque ad loca sancta veniebamur ita et ibi fecimus. Illud etiam presbiter sanctus dixit nobis, eo quod usque in hodierna die semper cata pascha quicumque essent baptizandi in ipso vico id est in ecclesia

<sup>1</sup> Smith, G. A., *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, p. 77; of the many pools or streams of Aenon (αὐλὰ ἁγία), John iii. 23.

<sup>2</sup> *Peregrinatio Silviae*, ed. Gamurrini, ch. 45, p. 59.

que appellatur opus Melchisidech omnes in ipso fonte baptizarentur.

The place was also known to Eusebius (265-340).

Jeromè in Eus. De situ et nominibus, 163, Migne, *Patr. Lat.* tom. xxiii. p. 677 (Aenon juxta Salim ubi baptizabat Iohannes sicut in Evangelio cata Iohannem scriptum est et ostenditur nunc usque locus in octavo lapide Scythopoleos ad meridiem iuxta Salim et Iordanem); but he seems to place the scene of our Lord's baptism at Bethabara and mentions the custom of Christian baptism in the river (182, p. 884).

In later times the baptism was believed to have taken place at Bethabara in the river itself, and a cross was erected in the water to mark the spot. Antoninus Placentius (570-600) describes it as surrounded by marble steps by which it was possible to go down into the water. The legend further added that the water rolled back to allow the Saviour to stand on dry ground.

### *Legends of the Apostolic Age.*

The Acts of Xantippe, Polyxena, and Rebecca are a Gnostic work dating probably from the third century, but using the Acts of Paul, which are most likely of the second, and are considered by Zahn to be orthodox.

Polyxena is described as meeting S. Andrew in a wood and asking him for baptism. He replies, 'Let us go, my child, where there is water.'

They come to a spring where they meet Rebecca, a Jewess, coming to draw, and a lion appears who tells the apostle to baptize them, which he does in the name of the Trinity.

The story of the lion reappears in the Acts of Paul and Thecla, and it is this legend that Jerome alludes to when he speaks with contempt of the work with its story of a baptized lion (*baptizati leonis fabulam*, *De vir. illust.* ch. 7)<sup>1</sup>.

In the Clementine Homilies (*Hom.* xiv. 1) Mattidia is described as being baptized on the sea-shore between some

<sup>1</sup> James, M. R., *Texts and Studies*, vol. ii, no. 3, pp. 43-85, Cambridge, 1897.



rocks. A river or spring where there is living water is mentioned as a suitable place for baptism in Clem. Hom. *Contest.* ch. i; cf. *Hom.* xi. 26<sup>1</sup>.

In the Acts of Linus the story is told of how S. Peter, when imprisoned in the Tullianum (Mamertine prison) under the Capitol, converted his two jailors Processus and Martinianus, and after causing a spring to burst forth baptized them and forty-seven others. The Acts date from the middle of the fourth century, and were probably taken from an earlier Greek form (G. Salmon in *Dict. Christian Biography*, art. 'Linus'). The saints are commemorated on July 2 in the Roman Breviary, and the story forms part of the lessons of the third nocturn. The spring about which the story grew up is still shown. The Tullianum was originally built as a well-house over this spring, having the usual dome form that is characteristic of the earliest buildings of Italy. The present floor of the upper chamber dates from early republican times, but the lower room was still in use in the fifth century A.D. A small circular hole forms the well-mouth, in which there is a constant supply of water. The forty-nine people could not easily have got into a room only 6 metres in diameter; still less could they have been dipped in the well. Doubts have been cast on the Roman origin of the legend on this ground<sup>2</sup>.

Grisar considers the tradition is not earlier than the sixth century, as the building remained a prison in Christian times and was only converted into an oratory in the fifteenth.

### *Legends of the Ages of Persecution.*

The Armenian Acts of Phocas, telling a story of persecution in the time of Trajan (which has however been added to later), describe the bishop as baptizing some soldiers in the sea<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Clementis Romani Homiliae Viginti*, ed. Dressel, 1853, pp. 296, 6, 247.

<sup>2</sup> Grisar, H., 'Der Mamertinische Kerker,' in the *Zeitschrift für kath. Theologie*, 1896, p. 102.—Lanciani, R., *The Ruins and Excavations of ancient Rome*, London, 1897, p. 287.

<sup>3</sup> Conybeare, F. C., *The Apology and Acts of Apollonius, &c.*, 1894, ch. xvi, p. 118.

'When the soldiers saw it (a torch, Gr. version 'more than ten thousand lamps') they rushed in, and throwing themselves at his feet sought of him the washing of the font—and the blessed bishop took the men and went as far as the edge of the sea outside the city and gave them the seal in Christ.' Cf. *Acta Sanctorum*, July 14, vol. iii, p. 644.

Victor of Marseilles is said to have baptized in the sea at the end of the third century (Ruinart, *Acta Sincera*, '*S. Victor Massil.*').

S. Apollinaris is said to have baptized in a house as well as in the sea and in a river at Ravenna (Surius, *Vit. Sanct.* July 23, §§ 2, 4, 11).

In the Acts of S. Laurence we read how the saint baptized Lucillus, a fellow prisoner, by pouring water over his head. Hippolytus his jailor was baptized with nineteen others in his own house and it would seem by the same method, though the Acts speak of his being 'raised out of the water,' from which we gather he stood in some bath or vessel. After he had been brought before Decius, one of the soldiers named Romanus, who had guarded him and had seen him tortured, was converted by a vision of Christ wiping his limbs. So the next day he brought a pitcher of water and cast himself at the feet of the saint, who took the water from him and gave him the baptism he desired.

Surius, *Vit. Sanct.* Aug. 10, §§ 16, 17, 21. Tum beatus Laurentius catechizavit Lucillum et accepta aqua dixit ad eum: Omnia in confessione lavantur. Tu autem me pronunciante responde 'Credo.' Benedixitque aquam et cum expoliasset eum fudit super caput eius dicens, &c.

... deinde more solito catechizavit eum, acceptamque aquam benedixit et baptizavit eum... et cum eum ex aqua elevaret... et praeclare baptizati sunt in domo... Porro Romanus urceum afferens cum aqua opportunitatem captabat... accessit et aquam afferens, misit se ad pedes beati Laurentii rogavitque cum lacrymis ut baptizaretur. Et acceptam aquam benedixit et baptizavit eum.

This incident is referred to by Walafrid Strabo (849).

In the Acts of Pope Marcellus, a deacon named Sisinius baptizes a certain Apronianus, who was sent to conduct him to the prefect Laodicius. When they are both committed to prison they are described as baptizing numbers who visited them there.

The baptism of Apronianus, according to the story, took place in a basin within the house; and in a later form of the Acts it is narrated in similar words how the deacon Cyriacus baptized a Persian princess in a silver bath (cp. the tombstone from Aquileia, Ex. 23, Fig. 21). The place where he had erected a baptistery in his own house was afterwards, during the persecution of Diocletian, turned into a bath by a pagan named Carpasius.

Eadem hora allata est aqua et catechizavit eum et benedixit fontem et deposuit eum nudum in pelvim dicens &c. . . et elevavit eum de pelvi et duxit eum ad Sanctum Marcellum.

Cumque essent in custodia veniebant ad eos multi Gentiles et baptizabantur cum omni fiducia<sup>1</sup>.

Catechizavit eam et allata aqua deposuit eam nudam in concham argenteam. . . Cum vidisset Carpasius placatum sibi Maximianum, petiit ab eo domum beati Cyriaci, qui confestim, quod petebatur, ei concessit. Et cum introisset in eandem domum, quam donaverat B. Cyriaco Diocletianus Augustus, invenit locum ubi S. Cyriacus fontem aedificavit, quem consecravit beatus Marcellus episcopus, ubi frequenter baptizabat S. Cyriacus venientes ad fidem. Tunc Carpasius vicarius paganus crudelissimus, cum in eadem domo invenisset baptisterium, fecit in loco eodem balneum, quasi ad deridendam legem christianorum<sup>2</sup>. Cf. Augusti, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus der christlichen Archäologie*, vol. 7, pp. 187, 189, 225.

The Acts in their present form seem to be of the fifth or sixth century, though they are based on an earlier tradition. Duchesne, *Lib. Pont.* vol. i, pp. xcix and 165.

### *Baptism in Special Circumstances.*

A legend of the Diocletian persecution told in the spurious Acts of Peter of Alexandria narrates how a woman in a storm

<sup>1</sup> *Gesta Marcelli Papae. Surti vit. Sanct.*, Jan. 16, § 3, 5, p. 334.

<sup>2</sup> *Acta Sanctorum, Boll.*, Jan. 16, vol. ii, §§ 16, 23, p. 7.

at sea baptized her child with blood drawn from her breast, and that when she brought it afterwards to the font, the water turned to stone to prevent the repetition of the sacrament.

A tradition of the end of the fourth century relates that S. Athanasius when a boy conferred baptism in play on some children on the sea-shore at Alexandria. He was observed by the Bishop Alexander, who, having ascertained that the necessary questions had been duly answered and the water poured over them (*infusa*), declared the rite was not to be repeated, but that it only needed completion.

Rufinus, *H. E.* bk. i. ch. 14. Videt eminus puerorum super oram maris ludum imitantium . . . statuisset traditur illis quibus integris interrogationibus et responsionibus aqua fuerat infusa iterari baptismum non debere sed adimpleri.

A story is told by Johannes Moschus (620) which he heard from a certain abbot Andrew. He said that as a young man he was very unsettled (*ἀτακτος πᾶν, indisciplinatus valde et inquietus fui*) and that he fled into the desert of Palestine with nine others, of whom one was called Philoponos and one was a Jew. The Jew fell ill, and though for some time refusing to desert him, they at last saw it was necessary unless they were all to die of thirst. The Jew begged for baptism, but they demurred, as there was no bishop or presbyter among them, and besides there was no water. Philoponos, however, told them to strip him and set him on his feet, which they did with some difficulty. Then filling his hands with sand he poured it thrice on his head, saying, 'Theodore is baptized,' &c. The Jew was at once healed, and on returning to Ascalon he went to Dionysius the bishop, who called his clergy together to discuss the validity of such a baptism. Some argued that it was valid, as it had been confirmed by a miracle; others said that though Moses baptized in water, in the cloud and in the sea, John in penitence, and Jesus in the spirit, and though Gregory of Nazianzen mentioned the baptism of blood and that of tears, no mention was made of sand; so the bishop thought it best to take him to the Jordan and baptize him

there, making Philoponos a deacon. No one, however, seems to have objected to the baptism on the ground that he had not been totally immersed in the sand<sup>1</sup>.

Καὶ μετὰ πολλοῦ κόπου ὄρθιον αὐτὸν στήσαντες ἐξεδύσαμεν. ὁ δὲ Φιλόπονος πληρώσας ψάμμον τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τρις κατέχεεν αὐτοῦ τῇ κεφαλῇ λέγων κ.τ.λ.

In all the above cases of baptism administered in the ages of persecution, or under special circumstances, we have seen that submersion could not have been practised, and yet there is no trace of justification of the method adopted as though it were unusual or as if excuse were necessary.

### Clinical Baptism.

The objection to the clinical baptism of Novatian (Eus. *H. E.* vi. 43) was not that he had not been dipped, but that he had only sought the rite on his sick bed in fear of death, and that he had never made up for the supposed necessity of such an act by seeking the seal of the bishop according to the rule of the Church. No stress is laid on the word 'by pouring' (*περιχυθείς*), but further instances of his cowardice are given immediately after.

So Cyprian (Ep. 76, Migne, *Patr. Lat.* vol. iii, p. 1147), after arguing that baptism out of the church is invalid, goes on to answer the objections of those who considered that persons who had been baptized in sickness ought not to be called Christians, but clinics, on the ground that they were not washed but sprinkled (*non loti sunt sed perfusi*). He says it is not as if it were an actual bath, and there were need of salt of nitre (*aphronitrum*) and a seat (*solium*) to sit on while washing yourself. He quotes Ezek. xxxvi. 25, Numb. xix. 8, 12, 13, viii. 6-7, and xix. 9, and argues that aspersion is allowable if faith is sound; but throughout, the contrast, as far as it refers to the method of administration, is between sprinkling and pouring over the whole body, while the sole objection to

<sup>1</sup> Johannes Moschus, *Pratum Spirituale*, ch. 176, Migne, lxxxvii, pars iii, p. 3043.

clinical baptism in his eyes is that it does not take place in the presence of the Church.

Nec quemquam movere debet quod aspergi vel perfundi videntur aegri cum gratiam dominicam consequuntur. . . . Unde apparet aspersionem quoque aquae instar salutaris lavacri obtinere et quando haec in Ecclesia fiunt, ubi sit et accipientis et dantis fides integra, stare omnia et consummari ac perfici posse maiestate Domini et fidei veritate.

The synod of Neocaesarea (314-325) forbade the ordaining of persons baptized in sickness, on the ground that their acceptance of the faith had been forced on them by circumstances. The rule was only to be relaxed if on recovery they showed a special zeal, or if (an unfortunate alternative) there was a lack of candidates for Holy Orders.

Ἐὰν νοσῶν τις φωτισθῇ, εἰς πρεσβύτερον ἄγεσθαι οὐ δύναται . . . οὐκ ἐκ προαιρέσεως γὰρ ἡ πίστις αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης . . . εἰ μὴ τάχα διὰ τὴν μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτοῦ σπουδὴν καὶ πίστιν καὶ διὰ σπάνιν ἀνθρώπων<sup>1</sup>.

### *Affusion in Church Orders.*

In the *Didaché* it is considered the natural thing, if there is no suitable tank with running or other water for the candidate to stand in while the water is poured over his whole body, that it should be simply poured over his head alone, that being considered the only essential part of the ceremony. In the Canons of Hippolytus the presbyter is directed to keep his hand on the catechumen's head while he is being baptized, an injunction which would seem to preclude the idea of dipping, as the water in which both presbyter and catechumen stand is obviously shallow. (Haneberg, *Canon* 19. 125: 'tum prima vice immergitur aquae, dum ille manum capiti eius impositam relinquit.') In the later so-called Canons of Basil we find that submersion has come to be considered the better way, though three handfuls of water poured over the head and body are held sufficient as an alternative.

Findet man nichts, worin man untertauchen kann, soll er im Namen der Dreiheit drei Hände voll Wasser auf sein Haupt

<sup>1</sup> Conc. Neocaes. can. xii, Hefele, vol. 1, § 17.

erhalten, und er soll Wasser auf sein Haupt und seinen ganzen Körper giessen und ihn baden<sup>1</sup>.

One would like to know, however, what was the original Greek word, and whether possibly the idea of submersion has not been due to either the Arabic or the Coptic translator through whose hands the Canons seem to have passed in turn, and whether in the earliest form the two alternatives were not simply those of the *Didaché*.

### *Baptism in Private Houses.*

In the earliest times, however, open-air baptism must have been the exception, as such a ceremony could hardly fail to attract attention. Before the conversion of Constantine Christian worship could only be carried on in private houses (*domus ecclesiae*), where the wealth of the owner formed a protection, or in the catacombs, where probably as early as the second century the Church had a legal position as a burial guild; and it is only natural to suppose that baptism, which was followed immediately by the Communion, was conferred in the same places<sup>2</sup>.

In private houses the rite could only have been administered in the impluvium, in the middle of the atrium, or in a bath-room. The atrium of a house was semi-public, and all evidence seems to show that Christians met in the inner peristylum. The arrangements of later churches in the West long continued to follow that of the private house, the catechumens being confined to the more public outer court, where the fountain served for the ablutions of the faithful. Bernini's colonnade before S. Peter's at Rome, with its two fountains, is the seventeenth-century development of the old court of Constantine's building in which Symmachus set up the pine-cone fountain now in the Giardino della Pigna of the Vatican.

<sup>1</sup> Riedel, W., *Die Kirchenrechtsquellen des Patriarchats Alexandrien*, Leipzig, 1900, p. 282, canon 105.

<sup>2</sup> Lightfoot, J. B., *Historical Essays*, pp. 61-2.—Ramsay, W. M., *The Church in the Roman Empire*, London, 1893.

Examples of baths in private houses can still be seen in the house of Germanicus on the Palatine and in that of the Vestals in the Forum. They lie to the right of the tablinum, in the more private quarters of the house, but in neither of them nor in the more public impluvium would submersion have been possible.

In the bath described by Pliny (bk. v. ep. 6) there was a piscina deep enough to swim in, but it is noticeable that the basin described as a 'baptisterium,' though a large one, was not of sufficient depth for that purpose.

Inde apodyterium balinei laxum et hilare excipit cella frigidaria in qua baptisterium amplum atque opacum. Si natare latius aut tepidius velis in area piscina est; in proximo puteus ex quo possis rursus astringi, si poeniteat teporis. Cf. also Bk. ii. ep. 17. Inde balinei cella frigidaria spatiosa et effusa cuius in contrariis parietibus duo baptisteria velut eiecta sinuantur abunde capacia si mare in proximo cogites.

Baptism in private houses lasted as late as the sixth century. We read that it was forbidden, except in cases of necessity, in 527 at the Council of Dvin in Armenia (Can. 16; Hefele, vol. iii. § 240), and at the Council 'in Trullo' (Quinisext) at Constantinople in 692 it was forbidden, except with the consent of the bishop (Can. 31, vol. iv. § 327).



## CHAPTER V

### THE FONT IN THE EAST

#### *Fonts in Egypt.*

Egypt was probably the first country to develop a distinctively Christian Art, just as she became early famous for her literature and her catechetical school, and this art seems to have continued with but little influence from outside. The dome building-form is almost universally found, and shows no sign of being modified by the Byzantine evolution that produced S. Sophia or by the basilica development of Rome, while at the same time the tradition of a domestic architecture lasted long, especially in the disposition of monastic buildings<sup>1</sup>.

This is seen in the usual shape and position of the font. Every Coptic church has what is called the Epiphany tank, usually about 8 or 10 feet by 6, and 5 or 6 feet deep. This, says Butler, 'it is reasonable to suppose was used for immersion, as it stands in the narthex, but there is no distinct evidence or tradition that it was so.' It seems rather to be the Egyptian form of the fountain that developed from the impluvium of the Roman house as described above. Just as in the West it was used for ablutions, and after being brought inside the church dwindled down to the holy water stoup, so the Egyptian churches have a second form, generally about 2 feet by one, placed at the west of the nave and used for the *mandatum* and ablutions.

The font, on the other hand, is found in various positions near the sanctuary, as the bath-room would have been in the inner part of the house. It is described as 'a deep circular

<sup>1</sup> Butler, A. J., *The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, Oxford, 1884.—Schultze, V., *Archäologie der christlichen Kunst*, p. 115.

basin like our modern fonts, though there is no trace of separate circular or hexagonal baptisteries' (Butler, pp. 22, 41).

*Ex. 61. Dair Mâri Mîna. ? Fourth century.*

Thus at Dair Mâri Mîna, between old and new Cairo, there is a small font to the south of the apse at the east end. The church was restored in 730, but this part is considered to belong to the original fourth-century building (pp. 62, 73).

*Ex. 62. Dair Abu' 's Sifain. ? Tenth century.*

At Dair Abu' 's Sifain are two fonts consisting of large basins built up into the masonry. One has a square enlargement east and west, at the bottom of which are two steps 'obviously adapted for immersion,' though the font itself is not more than 4 feet in depth, and apparently only about 3 feet in diameter; the size of the other at the end of the south aisle is about the same, and the depth 3 feet (p. 117). The building of the church is ascribed to Christodulus (1060), but it is probably earlier, and was built or rebuilt in 927.

Three more dating from the seventh or eighth century are mentioned as existing at the churches of Anba Shanûda, Mari Girgis, and Sit Miriam at Abu' 's Sifain in the usual position, but no measurements are given (pp. 138 and 144).

*Ex. 63. Abu Sargah. Third or sixth century.*

At the church of Abu Sargah in old Cairo, an eighth-century building with a sixth-century crypt, is a round font imbedded in masonry of a diameter of 2 feet, while in the crypt is a round stone vessel 30 inches across, which it is suggested is part of the original second or third-century building that was remade in the sixth (plan, pp. 201 and 203).

*Ex. 64. Dair al Abiad. Third or fourth century.*

At Dair al Abiad, the white monastery (Anba Shanûda) dating from the third or fourth century, is a small chapel on

the south side of the narthex which was probably a baptistery, and was described by V. Denon in 1799 as 'containing a magnificent font for immersion'; from the plan (fig. 26) in Butler it was about 4 feet in diameter. The basin seems to have been sunk in a platform of masonry which was ascended by a short flight of steps (pp. 17, 354 and vol. ii, p. 265).

On page 43 the author mentions the font at Dair Abu' 's Sifain as a 'very early font, which differs from the others in being deeper and having on each side of the well a short flight of steps; in other words, it is adapted more for immersion than sprinkling.' The steps, however, are elsewhere described as only two in number, and the church dating from the tenth century makes this example of *later* origin than any of the others cited; but even in this *larger* type of *late* font it would be impossible to 'immerse' any but a very undersized man, though we need not therefore assume that the modern custom of sprinkling was substituted for affusion.

### *Ex. 65. Al' Adra.*

At the little church by the cathedral of Al' Adra is a font described as standing in a recess 3 feet deep, in the form of a deep round basin with a rim curving out and fluted sides. The room is described as tiny and the church as little altered from the day of its dedication, and probably one of the oldest in Egypt (p. 226).

### *Legends of miraculous fonts.*

Johannes Moschus (620) mentions a miraculous font (φῶτισμα) which he says existed at Cedrebatia, and which filled itself on the eve of Easter and remained full till Whitsuntide. The font is described as consisting of one block (μονόλιθον ὄν), from which we see that the type with which he was familiar must have been about the size of those described above<sup>1</sup>.

A similar story is told by Gregory of Tours (sixth century) of a font in Lusitania, which seems to have been of a cruciform

<sup>1</sup> *Pratum Spirituale*, Migne, *Patr. Graeco-Lat.*, lxxxvii, pars iii, p. 3107.

shape, forming an exception to the usual rule in the West where, as we shall see, the basins are generally circular or octagonal. He relates that, though the doors of the baptistery were sealed on Thursday in Holy Week, when they were opened on Saturday the font was not only found full, but the water was piled up like a heap of corn, and that it stayed so until every one had drawn away all that was required for their fields or their homes, but that as soon as the first baptism took place in it it shrank back, and disappeared when all had received the sacrament. The water rose miraculously for the convenience of those who wished to draw from it, but there was no need to rise to cover the bodies of the catechumens.

Piscina namque est apud Osen campum antiquitus sculpta et ex marmore vario in modum crucis mirò composita opere. Sed et aedes magnae claritatis et celsitudinis desuper a christianis constructa est. . . Ac mirum dictu, piscinam quam reliquerant vacuum reperiunt plenam, et ita cumulo altiore refertam ut solet super ora modiorum triticum aggregari, videasque huc illucque latices fluctuare nec partem in diversam defluere . . . licet ubi infans primus intinctus fuerit, mox aqua reducitur et baptizatis omnibus lymphis in se reversis ut initio produntur nescio ita ut fine clauduntur ignaro<sup>1</sup>.

The same legend reappears in the description of the scene of our Lord's baptism by the pilgrim Antoninus Placentius (570-600), where, however, the miracle is described as taking place on the night of the festival of the Epiphany. It seems also to be referred to by Theodosius (530) some years earlier.

### *Syrian and Egyptian Church Orders.*

It is impossible to say with certainty whether the Canons of Hippolytus (third century) contemplate the use of a special font for baptism. They survive only in an Arabic version, and are generally quoted in the Latin translation published by H. Achelis in the Leipzig *Texte und Untersuchungen*,

<sup>1</sup> Greg. Tur., *De Glor. mart.*, i. 24, Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, lxxi, p. 725.

vol. vi, 1891, or in that of D. B. von Haneberg (München 1870).

In the former, Canon 19, § 112 orders the catechumens to assemble at cockcrow by a current of water of a 'baḥr,' pure, prepared and holy (prope fluctuantem aquam maris puram, paratam, sacram). This, Achelis seems to consider, contemplates the administration of the rite in sea-water.

Von Haneberg, on the other hand, believes it may refer either to open-air baptism in a river or to a font, and in the introduction to his edition of the Canons inclines to the latter interpretation.

F. C. Burkitt in a note in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, 1900, p. 279, considers that the passage cannot refer to the sea, as the word 'baḥr' is without the article, nor does he think it can be applied to a piece of ecclesiastical furniture like the 'sea' in Solomon's temple, because the Arabic word 'tayyâr' signifies not so much 'waves' as the current of a stream. He holds that in Canon 29, § 213, where the dust of the sanctuary is ordered to be thrown into the water of a 'baḥr tayyâr' (in aquam maris undosi), a running stream must be implied as in the ritual enjoined in Lev. xiv. 5, 50. He would prefer therefore to translate 'let them assemble at cockcrow by the water, a running stream pure, prepared, and holy.' W. Riedel, in the translation of the Canons in his *Kirchenrechtsquellen des Patriarchats Alexandrien*, agrees with him, and renders the passage 'das Wasser eines reinen brausenden Flusses' (p. 211).

It is evident that the Arabic translator did not understand the words before him in the original, so for its interpretation we must rely on internal evidence and on parallel passages in other Church Orders. The service as described in the Canons clearly takes place in a church (§§ 135, 142, &c.), and it is more natural to suppose that the order to throw the dust of the sanctuary into a running stream would refer to a fountain of running water within the precincts of the building. The killing of the bird, in Lev. xiv. 6, seems to take place at the

tent of meeting, and in verse 50 the running water seems to be within the house that is to be purified. All this suggests that a font is meant in the Canon.

This is further borne out by the parallel passages in allied Church Orders. The Egyptian Heptateuch, first published by H. Tattam in 1848, is given thus in his translation from the Bohairic dialect (§ 46, p. 54):—‘And at the time of the cock-crowing let them first pray over the water. Let the water be drawn into the font or flowing into it, and let it be thus if there be no scarcity. But if there be a scarcity, let them pour the water which shall be found into the font, and let them undress themselves,’ &c. The Sahidic version in Lagarde, *Aegyptiaca*, Can. Ecclesiast. No. 46, p. 255, has the same words, but adds ‘and haste’ after the word translated ‘scarcity,’ and continues ‘use what water can be found.’

The Verona Latin fragment is defective, but the Ethiopic statutes contain the same directions:—‘At the time of cock-crow let them pray first over the water, whether it was such as flowed into the tank or was caused to flow into it. If there was difficulty let him pour water which has been drawn’ (from a well); and the Arabic statutes (MS. Vat. § 34) say:—‘At the time of cockerow let him pray first over the water, and let the water be either running to the tank or running upon it. Let it be thus unless there was urgent necessity; if there was constraint let him pour in water which is found<sup>1</sup>.’

So in the Syrian ‘Testament of our Lord’ (? fourth cent.) in which a baptistery is specially mentioned, we find it ordered that the water is to be pure and running (*hoc autem modo baptizentur dum accedunt ad aquas quæ debent esse mundæ et fluentes*)<sup>2</sup>.

These documents are based on a lost Church Order originating probably in Syria in the second century. They seem

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to the Rev. G. Horner for the above two unpublished quotations.

<sup>2</sup> *Testamentum Domini Nostri Iesu Christi*, ed. I. E. Rahmani, Mainz, 1899, bk. ii.

to show that baptism took place, not in the open air, but in a vessel within doors, and preferably in one that had a continuous stream running into it to keep it fresh. Such basins would naturally be erected in churches, but where no such fountain was available, water might be brought in and poured over the head of the catechumen.

This explains the passage in the Didache which has generally been interpreted as referring to open-air baptism :— ‘Baptize . . . in living water. But if thou hast not living water, baptize in other water, and if thou canst not in cold then in warm. And if thou have not either, pour water thrice upon the head,’ &c.

οὕτω βαπτίσατε . . . ἐν ὕδατι ζῶντι. Ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἔχῃς ὕδωρ ζῶν, εἰς ἄλλο ὕδωρ βάπτισον· εἰ δ' οὐ δύνασαι ἐν ψυχρῷ, ἐν θερμῷ. Ἐὰν δὲ ἀμφοτέρω μὴ ἔχῃς, ἔκχεον εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν τρις ὕδωρ κ.τ.λ.

The natural place for the rite to be administered would be indoors, preferably in a fountain with running water ; but, failing this, any tank or warm bath might be used. If no basin were at hand of sufficient size to allow the catechumen to stand in it while the water was poured over his body, it was enough if it were poured thrice over his head.

### *Fonts in Syria.*

Christianity spread rapidly in very early times in Syria. From Jerusalem it passed to the lowlands of Palestine, whence in the persecutions of Decius and Diocletian it sent a continuous stream of martyrs to Caesarea (Eus. *H. E.* bk. VIII). Flourishing communities existed from earliest times in the great cities of Antioch, Edessa, and Damascus, but no remains of their churches have survived, except at Tyre and Jerusalem. On the other hand, numerous traces of the Christianity of the smaller towns and villages have been discovered, especially of that which followed the Roman civilizing of the Hauran in the second century ; and though the Diocletian persecution

seems to have swept away such buildings as may have then existed, there are considerable remains of the fourth and fifth-century churches with certain strongly marked architectural features. The latest are of the middle of the seventh century, while after the capture of Damascus by the Mohammedans in 635, only one single church is known to have been built in ancient times.

*Ex. 66. Tyre, 314.*

The cathedral at Tyre was built by Bp. Paulinus in 314, and is described by Eusebius in his sermon on the occasion of its dedication, preserved in his Ecclesiastical History (bk. X, ch. 4). It was evidently considered an event of great importance at the time, since it was the first large church that had been built, and signalized the final triumph of Christianity. He mentions the fountain (κρήναι) for washing the hands that stood in the atrium, and also alludes to adjoining buildings (ἐξέδρας καὶ οἴκους) joined to the side (εἰς πλευρά) of the basilica and united with the entrances into the centre of the structure (ταῖς ἐπὶ τὸν μέσον οἶκον εἰσβολαῖς ἡνωμένους), for those 'who still require the purification and sprinkling (περιρραντηρίων) of water and the Holy Spirit.'

It is much to be regretted that his description is so vague, and the remains of the church so scanty. Erected at that particular time it must have preserved the traditions of the previous century, and shown what Christians would have wished to build in the days of persecution had they been able; while it also formed a link with later times in that it probably set the example which the churches of the fourth century followed, and became the starting-point of the whole development in church building in post-Constantinian times.

The ruins of the cathedral were explored by Dr. S. N. Sepp in 1845, when he reported that he discovered the old font in the left aisle, and it is marked in this position in his plan (*Meerfahrt nach Tyrus*, Leipzig, 1879, p. 217). In his description of the alterations and rebuilding of the thirteenth



century, a font of the same shape is referred to as standing on the right hand of the nave near the altar.

In 1874, however, he excavated one of the adjoining buildings, and there discovered 'a basin in the form of a drawn out cross with three' (four in the diagram) 'steps at each end'

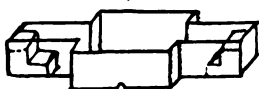


Fig. 52.

(Fig. 52). It seems to have been used later for burial purposes, and fragments of an altar and a sarcophagus ornamented with fairly good classical decoration were found near, pointing to a date in the fourth

century. This seems to have been the same font as that which he discovered in 1845, but it had been broken in the meanwhile.

The actual basin is oblong, with extensions at either end for the steps. The depth is  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet and the length 6 feet (? without the extensions), the breadth is not stated. The draw-hole is marked in the plan.

Dr. Sepp considers this to be the original font, and, after describing it as probably the oldest basin for 'immersion' that exists, adds that from its slight depth it could not have served for adults, and therefore proves that infant baptism was practised from earliest times! He does not suggest where the adults could have been baptized, or the purpose of the steps if the font was only used for infants.

Dr. Sepp also describes a spring in a rock chamber with a yard depth of water (*ellenhoch*), which he identifies with the source of the fountain in the atrium of which Eusebius speaks.

The baptistery occupies a similar position in the description of a church given in ch. 19 of the 'Testament of our Lord,' a Church Order dating in its present form probably from the fourth century, but based upon an earlier work. No description of the font, however, is given.

Intra atrium sit aedes baptisterii habens longitudinem viginti et unius cubitorum, ad praefigurandum numerum completum

prophetarum, et latitudinem duodecim cubitorum pro adumbrandis iis, qui constituti fuerunt ad praedicandum evangelium. Aditus sit unus, exitus vero sint tres.

Velum ex bysso pura confectum habeat altare, quoniam est immaculatum. Similiter domus baptismi [i. e. baptisterium] sit velo oblecta <sup>1</sup>.

*Ex. 67. Amwas. Fourth century.*

A fourth-century baptistery was discovered in 1884 at Amwas (Emmaus) by Dr. C. Schick, containing a font in remarkable preservation. The building is square with an apse, in the middle of the chord of which lies a cruciform basin with rounded ends (Fig. 53). The area of the apse where the bishop would have stood is raised to a level with the rim of the basin, which is only half sunk in the ground. Two steps lead into it on the west side. On each side are shallow depressions in the floor, connected with the basin by a drain which pierces its side. These were possibly the places where the newly baptized stood to receive unction, and were constructed to carry back the water that ran from their bodies. No accurate measurements were taken, but the following are approximate—breadth 3.5 metres, depth 1.35 metre.

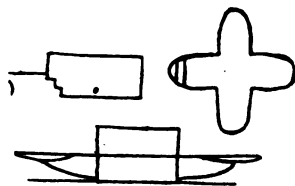


Fig. 53.

Taking into account the fact that the basin is half sunk in the level of the floor in which these curious depressions are made, the water in it could never have been more than about half a metre deep, or it would have run off through the drains and covered the floor of the baptistery <sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Testamentum Domini Nostri Iesu Christi*, ed. Rahmani, Mainz, 1899.

<sup>2</sup> Schick, C., in *Zeitschrift d. Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, Bd. vii, 1884, p. 15, with a picture.

*Ex. 68. Beit 'Aûwa. ? Fourth century.*

A font was discovered in 1875 at Beit 'Aûwa, near Hebron, in a 'Byzantine building' (Fig. 54). 'In the centre is a square basin, side 2 feet 3 in., 7 in. deep, four steps lead down' (i.e. two structural steps, as appears from the plan) '5 in. high, 9 in. broad (i.e. the total depth 20 in.), the whole surrounded by four segmental recesses, the external form being that of a rounded cross; the longest measurement being 5½ feet, the total height outside 2 feet 4 in.'

The font is described as 'fitted for immersion.' Evidently there were none of the descendants of the Anakim surviving<sup>1</sup>.

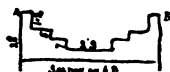
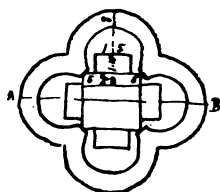


Fig. 54.

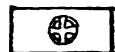
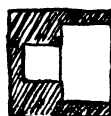
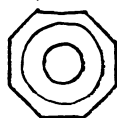


Fig. 55.

*Ex. 68 α.*

Another at Khûrbet Tekûa, south of Bethlehem, is described as octagonal, 4 feet high, 4 feet 3 in. in diameter (Fig. 55). The plan shows only one step<sup>2</sup>.

*Ex. 69. Deir Seta. ? Fifth century.*

Among the extensive ruins of the Hauran very few traces of baptisteries have been found. The most important is that

<sup>1</sup> Conder, C. R., and Kitchener, *Survey of Western Palestine*, Memoirs, 1883, vol. iii, p. 321.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, p. 368.

of Deir Seta. It is a hexagonal building, some way from the church, with a sort of portico adjoining. The sides are 15 feet in length, so the diameter is some 30 feet. The central basin is described as not visible because covered by the ruins of the roof, but it is marked in the plan as hexagonal, with six pillars that once supported a ciborium. If the plan is correct the basin must have been some 8 to 10 feet across<sup>1</sup>.

Another at Moudjeleia is given on pl. lxiii, but no measurements are given.

There is one also at Qal'at Sim'an, the church built soon after the death of Simeon of the pillar, who died 460. It is an octagonal building, but nothing is said of the shape or size of the font<sup>2</sup>.

In the 'Acta Maris Apostoli' is the following account of the origin of a baptistery in Mesopotamia or Persia. The saint has converted the king after casting out seventy-two devils from his son, which fly out of his mouth in the form of strange beasts, 'regem vero et civitatem baptizavit in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Fornacem autem regii palatii foderunt usque ad aquas, et aedificavit beatus Mar Mares ecclesiam. Et super aquam fornacis quam in puteum converterant aedificavit baptisterium, et puteus usque in hodiernum diem iuxta testimonium nonnullorum baptisterium est; et signa magna efficiuntur ab aquis illis.'

The Acts are ascribed to the fifth or sixth century, but may possibly be of the fourth, as there is no reference to Nestorianism in them<sup>3</sup>.

The churches of Asia Minor and Byzantium were closely connected with that of Syria, and the fonts seem to have been of the same shape as those which represent the earlier traditions of Palestine.

*Ex. 70. Aladschadagh. Sixth century.*

A baptistery near Myra in Lycia is described as built in the form of a Greek cross with a breadth of 4.5 metres

<sup>1</sup> De Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale*, pl. cxvii.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, pl. cxxxix-eli.

<sup>3</sup> *Analecta Bollandiana*, 1885, iv, 79 and *Intro.*, p. 45.

between the pillars at the angles. The square basin (Taufbrunnen) still stands in the centre, and is .82 metres high and .86 broad. The building is of the same age as the neighbouring church, which is of the 'usual early Christian basilica form' with a fore-court, and capitals 'resembling those of S. Vitale at Ravenna.' We may therefore place it in the sixth century<sup>1</sup>.

*Ex. 71. Gül Bagtische. Seventh century.*

The ruins of a baptistery have been recently discovered at Gül-Bagtische, two hours west of Vurla (Clazomenae). It stood with its chambers for the preparation of the catechumens on the north side of the church. The font was square and constructed of white marble slabs, and seems to have stood under a canopy. Three steps (two as given in the plan) led down to it. The channels to fill and empty the basin are still visible. The font itself is about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  metres across, the central slab being about 1 metre square. The depth is not stated, but judging from the steps it must be rather less than 1 metre. The building is attributed to the seventh century.

Erhalten sind von dem Taufort die Fundamente der Umfassungsmauern, im Innern vier starke aufgemauerte Eckpfeiler, aus gut gearbeiteten Quadern, und im Centrum das mit drei Stufen versehene Taufbassin in weissem Marmor ausgeführt. Die Marmorplatten waren mit Gips verkettet. Dass der Wasserzufluss hier auch ein künstlicher war, beweisen die Wasserrohre, die das eine oben an der SW. Ecke des Bassins im Boden, das andre in der westlichen Umfassungsmauer noch aufrecht, in situ, stehen. Unten im Bassin selbst, an der Nordwand, führte eine Thonrohrleitung das Wasser ab<sup>2</sup>.

*Ex. 72. S. Sophia, Constantinople. Fifth century.*

A circular building at the NE. angle of S. Sophia at Constantinople is supposed to be the baptistery of the pre-

<sup>1</sup> Petersen, E., and von Luschan, F., *Reisen in Lykien*, Wien, 1889, vol. ii, pp. 38 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, Oct. 1901, p. 568.

Justinian church, and to have escaped the fire that destroyed the old building in 532. It is 45 feet in diameter, but no traces of a font are described.

In the Imperial Museum at Constantinople, however, is a large marble font of oval quatrefoil shape, which was formerly in the precincts of the Mosque Zeinab Sultana, to the west of S. Sophia (Fig. 56). It is 8 ft. 2½ in. long, 6 ft. 1½ in.

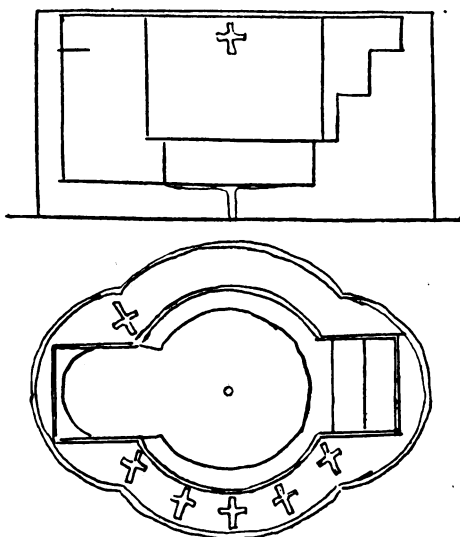


Fig. 56.

wide, and 4 ft. 6 in. deep. At one end it can be entered by a descent of two steps<sup>1</sup>.

In the illustration the section gives three steps, while the plan has the usual two. Another smaller one is mentioned as existing in the precincts of the Mosque Kotza Mustapha Pasha (p. 81).

A small octagonal building described by Blouet (*Exploration scientifique de la Morée*, 1831) appears from the engraving (pl. 3) to be merely a fountain.

<sup>1</sup> Lethaby and Swainson, *The Church of Sancta Sophia*, London, 1894, pp. 19, 81, 183.

*Ex. 73. Salona. Before 641.*

A plan and description of the group of buildings that formed the baptistery of the cathedral of Salona, near Spalato in Dalmatia, was published in 1850 by Dr. Fr. Carrara (*De' Scavi di Salona nel 1848*, Vienna), but no description of the font itself was given beyond stating that it was of marble and mosaic. The plan, which is reproduced in Garrucci, tav. 278, and has been frequently reproduced in books of Christian archaeology, is misleading, and represents it as T-shaped.

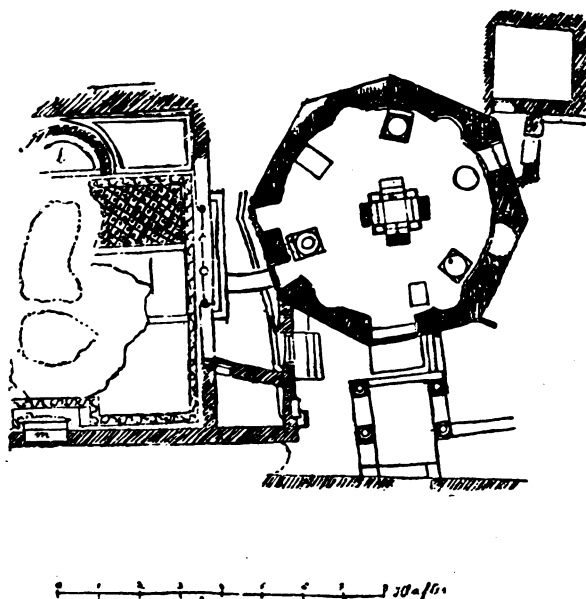


Fig. 57.

A more accurate plan is given by Fr. Lanza in his work *Monumenti Salonitani inediti*, Vienna, 1856, tav. ii. fig. 2. He describes the font as square, and entered on three sides by a descent of two steps (Fig. 57). On the third side there seems to have been a desk for the bishop, and at the four corners were red marble pillars which must have served to support a canopy.

Since that time unfortunately the font has suffered further damage, as for some years there was no curator of the ruins. The steps have disappeared as well as the remains of the bishop's desk. The hole by which the basin was emptied can still be seen and is shown in the illustration (Fig. 58), but the leaden pipe mentioned by Lanza has gone.

In its present condition the font is 1 metre wide by .80 m. deep, but originally it could not have been more than .70-.80 m. square, and could only hold one person with difficulty. A description of the recent excavations of the adjoining

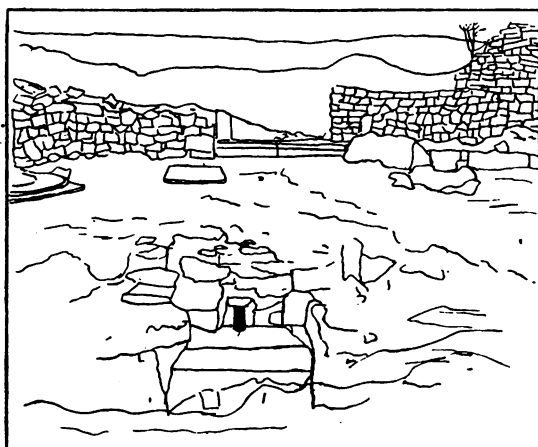


Fig. 58 (from a photograph).

basilica, in the course of which the canal for conveying the water to the baptistery was discovered, will appear in the *Bullettino d' Archeologia e Storia Dalmata* for 1902.

I am indebted for the above information to the kindness of Prof. Fr. Bulić, Director of the Museum at Spalato, who considers that the font could not have been used for submersion (*Untertauchung*), and that the rite must have been administered by affusion (*Aufgiessen*).

Salona was taken by the Avars in 641, and the inhabitants fled to Spalato and took refuge in the ruins of the palace of



Diocletian. The baptistery must therefore be at least as old as the sixth century.

*Guida di Spalato e Salona.* Zara, 1894, p. 233. Nel centro dell' edificio, lastricata tutto a mosaico di pasta di vetro dorato, stava una vasca rettangolare di marmo a cui da due lati salivasi mediante due gradini anch' essi di marmo, mentre al lato volto a borea faceva capo il tubo conduttore dell' acqua. Ai quattro angoli della vasca si rinvennero gli avanzi di sottili colonne di marmo rosso, che probabilmente avranno servito a sostegno di un ciborio a foggia di baldacchino posto sopra la vasca battesimale.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE FONT IN THE WEST

#### *Fonts in the Catacombs.*

BOLDETTI, in his description of the Roman catacombs published in 1720, declares that several baptisteries were discovered there. Only three, however, are known to exist.

#### *Ex. 74. Cemeterium Ostrianum. ? Third century.*

The first is in the *Cemeterium Ostrianum* on the Via Nomentana, a few hundred yards beyond the church of S. Agnese, and was discovered in 1876. No description of the font is given in the account of the discovery in the *Bullettino* for 1876, or in Professor Marucchi's chapter on the catacomb in his *Éléments d'archéologie chrétienne*, vol. ii; but I am told by the author of the latter work that it is formed by hollowing out the rock to receive a natural spring, and that it is small and not deep. The basin seems to be in a part that was excavated in the third century.

In the Acts of Papias and Maurus we read that the saints suffered death in the Diocletian persecution, and were buried near the Via Nomentana, 'ad nymphas ubi Petrus baptizabat.'

The document dates from the fifth century, but other discoveries have identified the cemetery beyond doubt and proved its connexion with very early traditions of the Apostle.

#### *Ex. 75. Cemetery of Priscilla. Fourth century.*

In 1901 the discovery of a baptistery was made in the cemetery of Priscilla on the Via Salaria Nova, by Professor Marucchi and the Commission of Sacred Archaeology. At the bottom of the staircase of S. Silvester, near the chapel of the Acilii Glabriones, is a small apse with a niche at its further end

leading to a large tank at a slightly lower level (Fig. 59). A *graffito* on the arch above, 'qui sitit veniat ad me et bibat,'

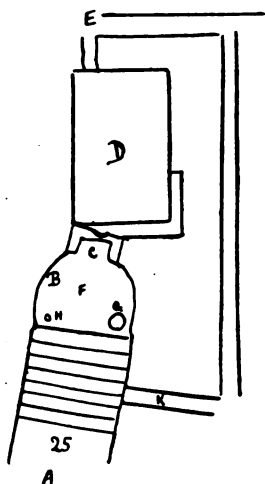


Fig. 59. A. Entrance by staircase of 25 steps. B. Apse. C. Niche at the end of the apse. D. Basin full of water. E. Channel of water. F. Travertine pavement. G. Depression hollowed out in the pavement. H. Drain to carry off the water. K. Modern passage.

frequently found in baptisteries, proves that this chamber was used for the administration of the sacrament. The basin is about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  metres wide, 9 metres long, and 1.40 deep.

Professor Marucchi considers that it may have been used for baptism by 'immersion,' the candidate using a wooden ladder or perhaps a single stone; but such a proceeding would have been very awkward, and the presence of a hollow in the travertine floor of the apse above, and a hole to carry off the water, makes it quite unnecessary to suggest it even as an alternative method<sup>1</sup>. Crostarosa, in the Report of the Commission, holds that the water was drawn from the tank and poured over the head of the catechumen, pointing out that the

niches in the wall (for lamps) are round the apse and leave the 'font' in darkness.

In questa piscina poteva discendersi servendosi di pochi gradini in legno o di una semplice pietra, essendo profonda soltanto 1 m. 40. Onde il battesimo vi si poteva conferire per immersione, essendo accessibile la piscina, o anche per infusione vedendosi innanzi all' abside l'incavo per assicurare la pelvis (G) e il foro per lo scolo dell' acqua.

p. 164. In fondo allo scalone è il posto per il battesimo coperto di un' apside, in questa fu praticata un' apertura per attingere acqua dalla piscina e versarla sulla testa del catechumeno.

<sup>1</sup> *Bull.*, 1901, p. 71 (plan and photographs, tavv. 2, 2 a, and 3).

When Liberius (352-356) was forbidden by Constantius to come within the walls of the city, he lived, we read, as an exile in the cemetery of Novella on the Via Salaria. This cemetery was an addition to that of Priscilla made by Marcellus some fifty years before (Duchesne, *Lib. Pont.*, ch. xxxi, p. 164).

When Easter approached he was advised by Damasus to baptize there, as S. Peter was said to have done in the neighbouring *Cemeteryum Ostrianum* on the Via Nomentana, and 4,000 persons are said to have received the rite there. Marucchi believes that the recently discovered baptistery was made on this occasion, and a *graffito* discovered on its walls giving the consular date 375 makes it probable that the Acts of Liberius, which are not later than the sixth century (Duchesne, *Lib. Pont.*, vol. i, p. cxxii), contain a genuine tradition explaining the origin of this fourth-century structure.

Constantius iussit eum extra civitatem habitare: habitabat autem ab urbe Roma millario tertio quasi exul in cymiterio Novellae via Salaria. Veniens autem dies Paschae vocavit universos presbyteros cives romanos et diaconos et sedit in cymiterio. Damasus dixit 'Baptiza in pelve ubi magister. Pelvis illa non lignum, sed totus mundus est.'

Erat enim non longe a cymeterio Novellae cymeterius Ostrianus [sic] ubi Petrus apostolus baptizabat. Eodem tempore Paschae baptizavit promiscui sexus numero quatuor millia duodecim. *Acta Liberii et Damasi*, ed. Constant., *Epist. Pont.*, p. 9; Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, t. viii, pp. 1388-93.

*Ex. 76. Cemetery of Pontianus. Sixth century.*

The baptistery in the cemetery of Pontianus on the Via Portuensis dates from the sixth century. It is formed by allowing a natural spring to collect in an oblong trench excavated in the rock. It is 2 metres wide and one deep, but is seldom full. A flight of steps leads down to it, and there is a small level space of about 4 feet across for the officiating bishop to stand on. The fresco above, which leaves no doubt as to the purpose of the excavation, has already been described<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Marucchi, O., *Éléments d'archéologie chrétienne*, vol. ii, p. 63.

A font in the catacomb of S. Gennaro at Naples is considered below.

*Ex. 77. Alexandria.*

In the description of the catacomb of Alexandria given in the *Bullettino* for 1865, p. 60, we read of a large basin excavated in the floor, which seems once to have been crossed by a channel in which water flowed. No measurements are given, but from the plan it seems to have been circular, and a little wider than the loculi cut to receive the bodies, and therefore presumably about 1 to 1½ metres across. The catacomb dates from the third century, and De Rossi holds that 'such a structure for holding water has the appearance of a font rather than a well' (p. 62).

*Fonts in baptisteries.*

Marcellus I (308-310) is said in the *Liber Pontificalis* to have restored or established twenty-five churches for baptism in Rome. No traces of such churches have survived, and it is more probable that the author refers to parish churches where preparation for baptism was carried on, as the administration of the rite required the presence of a bishop.

Duchesne, *Origines du Culte chrétien*, p. 164. Églises paroissiales où avaient lieu les instructions préparatoires au baptême... Je dis les exercices préparatoires, car la célébration du baptême... requérant la présence de l'évêque, ces cérémonies s'accomplissaient dans une réunion générale et non par circonscription de paroisse.

*Ex. 78. The Lateran baptistery.*

The most important baptistery of the fourth century in the West was that erected by Constantine at the Lateran, which we have partially described above. The whole was restored by Xystus III (432-440) and the upper pillars are modern, but it is generally considered that the shape has not been altered. The basin is octagonal and the depth about

3 feet. It is 62 feet in diameter in a building of 90 feet diameter, and is therefore unusually large in proportion to the baptistery. It has a desk for the bishop on the north side, and is entered on the south by two steps.

This is quite the largest that exists, and from the descriptions was evidently considered something exceptional. It seems to have been for the West what the church at Tyre was for the East, and to have inaugurated a new type, but whether as an amplification of a form already traditional, or as a change from one almost identical with a private bath to a building modelled on the pattern of the public *thermae*, it is difficult to say.

*Ex. 79. S. Stefano on the Via Latina. c. 450.*

That the latter was the case is suggested by the remains of a baptistery in the ruins of the church of S. Stefano on the Via Latina, which dates from the middle of the fifth century. It was built on the site of an old Roman villa and the baptistery lay on the north-west, to the right of the altar, in which direction are to be seen extensive remains of baths. The font is circular, about 6 feet in diameter, and the parapet has been broken away, but the hole for draining the water away still remains as well as that by which it was filled, showing that the present depth of about 3 feet is original. Two semicircular masses of masonry fill up nearly half the space, and were possibly the substructures of the pulpits in which the bishop and his assistants stood<sup>1</sup>.

This font suggested the plan on which an interesting modern font has been constructed in the parish church of Lambeth for the purpose of administering baptism by submersion, but it has been found necessary nearly to double the diameter and the depth, and to introduce seven steps by which the candidate descends to the bottom. In the font at S. Stefano it was found on experiment to be nearly impossible to crouch down

<sup>1</sup> Marucchi, O., *Éléments d'archéologie chrétienne*, vol. ii, ch. 6, p. 200.

so as to bring the whole body below what would have been the surface level of the water.

*Exx. 80, 81. Naples. Fourth century.*

Two fonts of similar shape and size remain in Naples. One is in a building to the right of the apse of the basilica of S. Restituta, the roof of which contains mosaics of the fourth century; the hole for emptying the basin is still visible. The other is in the court in front of the galleries of the catacomb of S. Gennaro. Here the parapet of the font is broken away, but the base of the bishop's desk remains, and opposite it on the east side the rim is broken for the descent into the water. The hole for draining is still visible at a depth of 3 to 4 feet. In the adjoining chamber are the remains of a raised platform on which an altar once stood, and of the seats in the apse on either side of the bishop's throne. They probably date from the fourth century, though the roof has considerable remains of frescoes of the first or early second century. The font is therefore probably also of the fourth, though one is tempted to regard it as dating from before the peace of the Church, and as abandoned when another, copied from it, was erected in the basilica in the city.

There is also a niche in the rock pointed out as the new baptistery just under the fresco described above (p. 298). No trace of the basin is left, but it must have been quite small, no bigger than a modern font.

We read in the *Gesta Episcoporum Neapolitanorum*, written by John the Deacon of S. Januarius of Naples, that S. Restituta was built by Zosimus, apparently at the instigation of Sylvester of Rome. Severus, who succeeded him, built four basilicas, including that of S. Fortunatus, which he ornamented with mosaic. Soter (465) built the church of the Apostles and either a parish church or a baptistery (plevem post Sanctum Severum secundus instituit; according to Muratori plebe=ecclesiae baptismales sive parochiales). Victor, a contemporary of Pope Gelasius (492), built two basilicas outside

the walls, one dedicated in the name of S. Stephen about a mile out before the chapel of S. Januarius, and another, S. Euphemia, just outside the gate. Stephanus (496) built the church *ad nomen Salvatoris*, which was generally known as the Stephanian. The apse of this church was destroyed by fire, and was restored and decorated with a mosaic representing the Transfiguration by John (532), but the church was again destroyed by fire and rebuilt by Stephen (766).

Vincent (550-560) built the greater baptistery (*baptisterium fontis maioris*) in or near the archbishop's palace, and John in the time of Pope Deusdedit (? Deodatus 615) built an additional room for the administration of the unction that followed after baptism (*consignatorium alvatorum* [ablutorum, Mur.] *inter fontes maiores a domino Sotero episcopo digestae et ecclesiam Stephaniam per quorum baptizati ingredienti ianuas a parte leva ibidem in medio residenti offeruntur episcopo et benedictione accepta per ordinem egrediuntur parti sinistrae. Id ipsud et in parietibus super columnas depingere iussit*).

Athanasius (847) carried out a great deal of ornamenting of various churches at S. Januarius and elsewhere<sup>1</sup>.

The existing baptistery in S. Restituta is usually identified either with that built by Soter or with that constructed by Vincent, but it is difficult to believe that the first basilica of S. Restituta was without the font which formed so important a feature of the churches at Tyre and Rome. More light will no doubt be thrown on the subject by the new discoveries and investigations of Mgr. G. A. Galante referred to on pp. 219 and 221 of the *Römische Quartalschrift* for 1900, and in the *Bullettino* for 1900, p. 99.

*Ex. 82. Nocera dei Pagani, near Naples. Fifth century.*

The baptistery of S. Maria Maggiore at Nocera dei Pagani was a circular building, erected in the fifth century, 80 feet in diameter and with an apse. The piscina is circular, with a diameter of 18 feet and an octagonal rim. It was surrounded

<sup>1</sup> Johannes Diaconus Ecclesiae S. Januari Neapoli, *Gesta Episcoporum Neapolitanorum* (Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 1723).—Also in *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Scriptorum rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum Saec. vi-ix*, 1877.



originally by eight pillars, of which three remain. Two steps run round the inside of the basin, which is therefore not more than 2 to 3 feet deep <sup>1</sup>.

The *Dict. of Christ. Antiquities* gives the depth as 5 feet. Its authority appears to be Fergusson, whose elevation however gives a depth of about 3 feet. The plan and section in Dehio and Von Bezold are from Isabelle, who gives the diameter from pillar to pillar as 6.150 metres, that of the floor of the basin 4 metres, and the depth, judging from the plan, as about 1½ metre.

### *Baptistery of S. Peter's.*

The baptistery of S. Peter's was destroyed in the rebuilding of the cathedral in the sixteenth century. It lay to the right of the sanctuary, probably at the end of the north transept. A small font seems to have been constructed when the church was built, which proved insufficient. In the time of the Emperor Constantius the Catholic Christians were forbidden to use the Lateran baptistery, and were compelled to go outside the walls of the city for the administration of the sacrament. We have seen above how Liberius at this time (probably) had the font constructed in the cemetery of S. Priscilla (p. 335), and the Acts of Liberius relate how Damasus got permission to build a larger font at S. Peter's with a more ample supply of water, and how he helped with his own hands in its construction. The building was ornamented with mosaics by Longinus, prefect of Rome in 403.

The Acts date from the sixth century, but a contemporary inscription in the crypt of S. Peter's relates how Damasus first made the cistern in the hill above, from which the water was drawn.

Damasus dixit . . . date mihi opera ministerii ut haec aqua mundetur desuper cadavera hominum. Fecit autem cuniculos

<sup>1</sup> *Dict. Christian Antiquities*, art. 'Baptistery.'—Fergusson, *Architecture*, vol. i, p. 385.—Dehio and Bezold, *Die kirchliche Baukunst des Abendlandes*, Stuttgart, 1892.—Isabelle, *Les Édifices circulaires*, Paris, 1855.

duos et exinanivit locum illum qui est a dextera introeuntibus in basilicam beati Petri apostoli. Habebat enim ibidem fontem qui (*sic*) non sufficebat. Et caecidit montem Damasus manu sua. Et introivit plus quam consuetum est. Et construxit fontem<sup>1</sup>.

The baptistery is thus described by Prudentius (*Peristeph.* xii. 31-41).

Dextra Petrum regio tectis tenet aureis receptum  
Canens oliva murmurans fluento.  
Namque supercilio saxi liquor ortus excitavit  
Fontem perennem chrismatis feracem.  
Nunc pretiosa ruit per marmora lubricatque clivum,  
Donec virenti fluctuet colymbo.  
Interior tumuli pars est, ubi lapsibus sonoris  
Stagnum nivali volvitur profundo.  
Omnicolor vitreas pictura superne tingit undas,  
Musci relucent et virescit aurum  
Cyaneusque latex umbram trahit imminentis ostri,  
Credas moveri fluctibus lacunar.  
Pastor oves alit ipse illic gelidi rigore fontis  
Videt sitire quas fluenta Christi.

### *African Fonts.*

As early as the second century there was a flourishing Christian Church in Africa. Chapels were erected at the place where Cyprian was martyred and over the spot where his body was buried, and probably many churches were built in the long peace between the persecutions of Decius and Diocletian, but no example is known to survive which dates from before the conversion of Constantine. The fourth and fifth centuries, however, were great ages of church building, as the numerous consecration sermons of Augustine testify.

After the fall of Carthage, in 439, the Catholic Christians were persecuted by the Arian Vandals, who preferred confiscating the older churches to building new ones for them-

<sup>1</sup> Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, viii, p. 1392.—Duchesne, *Lib. Pont.*, Introd. cxxii.—Kirsch, J. P., 'Zur Geschichte der alten Petruskirche,' *Römische Quartalschrift*, 1890, p. 118.

selves; and the overthrow of their dominion by Belisarius in 534 found the country too wasted to do more, as a rule, than keep the older basilicas in repair. When the country was again conquered by the Arabs at the end of the seventh century, the churches, already in many cases only used in half their area, gradually fell into complete ruin.

*Ex. 83. Carthage. ? Fourth or fifth century.*

A baptistery was discovered at Carthage by Sgr. Cesana in 1880. The font is described as octagonal, with two steps going down into it. Among the ruins were found fragments of plaster that had fallen from the dome over the basin, the diameter of which measured 2.83 metres ('frammenti d'intonaco dipinto caduti dalla cupola dell' ottagono, il cui diametro maggiore è di metri 2.83').

A mosaic of four fish was also found, and near it some lamps and an earthenware vessel (orciuolo fittile) of rough make and ornamented with fishes, which De Rossi ascribes to the fifth century, and suggests that it was used for baptism by affusion<sup>1</sup>.

*Ex. 84. Damous el Karita. Fourth century.*

The basilica of Damous el Karita had a large hexagonal fountain in the atrium, which lay to the north side of the church, while in the baptistery on the south side the font is still to be seen. It is circular below and hexagonal above. It has a diameter of 3 metres and is entered by four steps. The depth is estimated at .80—90 m. The hole for emptying the basin is still to be seen<sup>2</sup>.

De Rossi suggests that this was the church referred to in a sermon '*De passione 88. Donati et Advocati*,' printed after

<sup>1</sup> *Bull.*, 1881, p. 125.

<sup>2</sup> *Bull.*, 1898, p. 219.—Wieland, Dr. Fr., *Ein Ausflug in altchristliche Africa*, Stuttgart, 1890, pp. 25 and 31.—Gsell, S., *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, Rome, 1894, p. 25. Several more baptisteries are mentioned in *Les monuments antiques de l'Algérie*, Paris, 1901, by the same author. Cf. also *R. Q. S.*, 1902, p. 81.

the works of Optatus. Dr. Wieland thinks it may have been erected on the spot where S. Perpetua suffered.

*Ex. 85. Hammam el Lif. Fourth or fifth century.*

A baptistery recently discovered at Hammam el Lif, opposite Carthage, has a cylindrical font .65 m. high on the outside, and with a diameter of 1.24 m. (Fig. 60). The centre of the basin has a further depth of .60 m. with

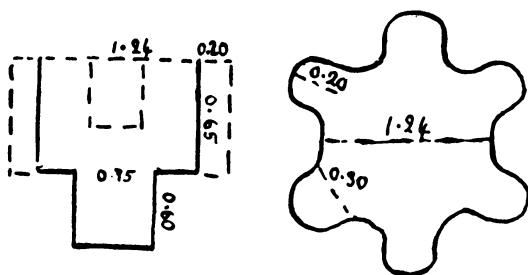


Fig. 60.

a diameter of .75 m., making a total depth of 1.25 m. There are six little recesses round the upper rim, but one of these does not reach to the top as the side is broken by a step. It was therefore impossible to fill the font to the brim, and the water could never have been more than one metre deep.

*Ex. 86. Tebessa. Before 439.*

A monastic church at Tebessa (Theveste) near Carthage is remarkable for its similarity in measurement to Solomon's temple at Jerusalem. Dated inscriptions show that it was built before 439.

The baptistery stands to the right of the atrium, and is described as a narrow oblong room (ein länglicher winkelliger Raum), containing a circular font of 2 m. diameter and formed by three concentric stone rings. The outer ring is partly original, but has been restored in later times from material taken from a building of the classic period. A deep

groove runs round the edge and served as a channel to convey the water from some spring<sup>1</sup>.

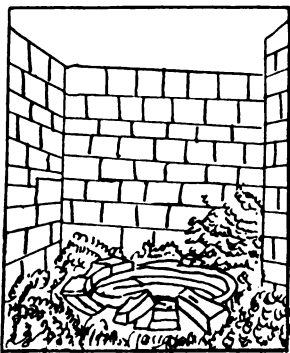


Fig. 61.

Dr. Wieland informs me that the basin was at most .80 m. deep. There seems from the illustration in his book (Fig. 61) to have been a canopy over the font supported on pillars, the bases of which remain.

*Ex. 87. Tizirt.  
Sixth century.*

At Tizirt near Algiers is a font which is described as circular and formed out of three concentric stone rings. It stands in a baptistery of cruciform shape with rounded ends. The basin is .45 m. high on the outside and measures 1.80 in diameter, and is therefore probably about .80 m. deep. The drain for carrying away the water is still visible, but there is no trace of any channel by which the font was filled. Two large vessels were found near, which may have served to bring the water, or it may have fallen from a fountain-head above as in the Lateran baptistery and in that of Eustorgius at Milan. The remains of a platform can be seen on the east side, which may have served to facilitate the entrance into the water but was more probably the base of the bishop's desk. The bases of two of the columns which supported the ciborium are still in their place. The building would seem to be of the sixth century, as it lies between the old Roman wall and the outer Byzantine fortification, though it has been ascribed to the early fifth century<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Bull.*, 1899, p. 51.—Wieland, pp. 97, 98.—Ballu, A., *Monuments antiques de l'Algérie: Tébessa, Lambèse, Timgad*, Paris, 1894.

<sup>2</sup> Wieland, pp. 172-3.—Gavault, P., *Études sur les Ruines romaines de Tizirt*, Bibliothèque d'Archéologie Africaine, Fasc. 2, Paris, 1897, p. 88.

*Ex. 88. Tipasa. Fourth century.*

At Tipasa, to the west of Algiers, there is another font of almost identical form. It stands in a square baptistery between the basilica and the sea. It is formed of three concentric rings and measures 3.40 m. in diameter, narrowing down to 1.30 in the centre, and is not more than 1 m. deep. The church is thought to date from the fourth century <sup>1</sup>.

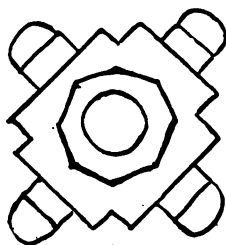


Fig. 62.

*Ex. 89. El Kantara.*

The font from the church of El Kantara on the island of Djerba has been transported to Tunis. It is made of white marble and is of cruciform shape externally and octagonal within. Its depth is only .60 m. (Fig. 62).

I am indebted to M. Père Delattre, Supérieur des Pères Blancs, S. Louis de Carthage, for this information as well as for the details of the font at Hammam el Lif.

There is also a baptistery at Castiglione, near Algiers, which lies under the apse of the baptistery (cf. the font at Amwas) <sup>2</sup>, and another, dating from the fourth or fifth century, is mentioned as existing at Busguniae on Cape Matifon, near Algiers, in the *Römische Quartalschrift*, 1901, p. 91.

I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Wieland for many details in the above section.

*Ex. 90. Ravenna. 449-452.*

The font in the Orthodox Baptistery at Ravenna is octagonal, with a diameter of about 3.40 m. and a depth of about 1½ m. The entrance is opposite to the bishop's desk which is raised by two steps, so that the head of a man standing in the

<sup>1</sup> Wieland, p. 183.—Gsell, S., *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, xiv, Rome, 1894, p. 358.

<sup>2</sup> *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des Travaux historiques*, 1896, pts. 1 & 2.

water would be well below the reach of his hands (Figs. 63, 64). A porphyry sarcophagus, raised up to the level of the desk, is

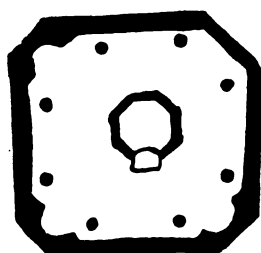


Fig. 63.

now used for a font, but originally the rite could only be administered by pouring water on the catechumen's head; the water in the basin being quite out of reach. The building is supposed to have been a chamber of the public baths before it was converted to its present use by Neon (449-452)<sup>1</sup>.

The basin has disappeared from the Arian baptistery, but its site is marked by a round slab of porphyry of about 3 m. in diameter, which was possibly its floor.

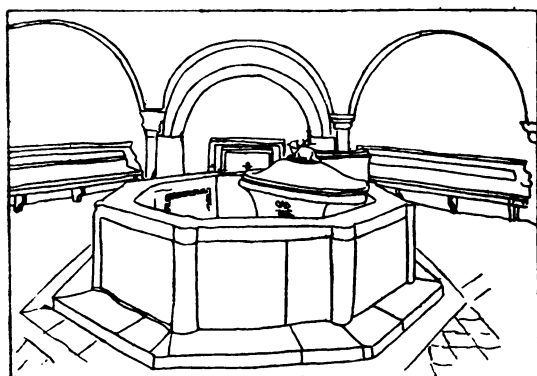


Fig. 64 (from a photograph).

### *Ex. 91. Parenzo. Sixth century.*

The baptistery of the cathedral at Parenzo is at the west end of the building, and received its present form from Eufrasius in the first part of the sixth century; but this building was erected on earlier foundations of a structure raised

<sup>1</sup> Isabelle, *Les Édifices circulaires et les Dômes*, Paris, 1855.—Ricci, C., *Guida di Ravenna*, Bologna, 1900, p. 32.

in 313, and this again on another of the second century. A mosaic of the third century, with a pattern of fishes, has been found on this lowest level, but it lies in a different part of the church and is probably of secular origin. The baptistery is 8 metres across; the hexagonal font appears to be about 3 m. in diameter<sup>1</sup>.

*Ex. 92. Cividale. 716-762.*

The town of Cividale in Friuli (Forum Iulii) near Aquileia was for a long time in possession of the Lombards, and the baptistery erected by the patriarch Calixtus (716-762) is perhaps the earliest example of distinctively Lombard art. It was restored by Sigwald in 774, and the font was brought into the cathedral in the seventeenth century. It is octagonal and surmounted by a ciborium. The height of the structure is 3.8 metres and its diameter 3 m. There are three steps (but always pictured as two) leading up to the rim of the basin and two to go down into it. In the section in Garrucci<sup>2</sup> the steps are represented as steeper than usual. If the drawing is correct, this would seem to be a sign of the beginning of the attempt to introduce the practice of baptism by submersion.

Es ist achteckig und hat eine Höhe von 3.8 Meter und einen Durchmesser von 3 Meter. Zu demselben führen gegenwärtig drei Stufen und zwei zum Hinabsteigen in die piscina concha fontium. Ob ursprünglich statt der fünf Stufen sieben vorhanden gewesen, ist zwar wahrscheinlich, lässt sich aber nicht mehr sicher stellen. Die oberste Stufe, auf der jene standen, die bei dem Taufacte beschäftigt waren, wurde 'fundamentum aquae et stabilimentum pedum' genannt. Den ganzen inneren Raum nimmt die Piscina ein. Sie war, wie der Massstab zeigt, hinlänglich geräumig zum Taufacte durch Immersion.

See, however, p. 351 below.

<sup>1</sup> *Bull.*, 1896, p. 14, and plan.

<sup>2</sup> *Garr.*, vol. 6, tav. 425.—R. von Eitelberger von Edelberg, *Gesammelte kunsthistorische Schriften*, III, Wien, 1884, p. 329.



*Ex. 93. Poitiers. Fourth century.*

A Merovingian baptistery dating from the sixth or seventh century still exists at Poitiers. It seems, however, to stand on the site of an older building, the font of which was excavated in 1890 by M. P. C. de la Croix, Directeur des Musées de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest, &c. He informed me that it was damaged by the building having been used as a bell-foundry in 1827, but could be easily restored. It was about 1 m. deep, octagonal, and was entered by three steps. The water, however, which came from a third-century aqueduct, entered on a level with the bottom of the basin and could never have been more than .21 m. deep. He considers that the font dates from the fourth century.

*Ex. 94. Aquileia. Eighth century.*

An engraving of an eighth-century font at Aquileia is given in Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, where it appears as an irregular hexagon with broken pillars at the corners standing on a low parapet rim, and a step running round inside. The plans, however, represent it as octagonal. It seems to be of the usual size, and to have the usual two steps running round the inside. It may therefore be 1 metre deep<sup>1</sup>.

*Ex. 95. Schacheneck in Lothringen. Ninth or tenth century.*

At Schacheneck in Lothringen is a baptistery with a font dating from Carolingian times (ninth or tenth century). It is .80 m. deep, the inside diameter .92 m., the outside breadth 1.30 m., and the thickness of the rim .20 m.; there is a small circular opening at the bottom showing that the present depth is original<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Holzinger, Dr. H., *Die altchristliche Architectur*, Stuttgart, 1889, pp. 219 & 220, where the same two incompatible illustrations appear.

<sup>2</sup> Kraus, F. X., *Kunst und Alterthum in Elsass-Lothringen*, vol. iii, p. 915, with a picture. Prof. Kraus adds: 'Die Taufe geschah in diesen grossen Kufen (about 2½ feet deep) noch durch Untertauchen'!

SYNOPTIC TABLE OF FONTS.

Place.	Date.	Shape.	Diameter.	Depth.
Fountain-heads in Palestine . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	3-20 ft. . . . .	1-3 ft.
<i>Fountains in Cemeteries.</i>				
75. Cemetery of Priscilla . . . . .	325-366	? { oblong . . . . . circular . . . . .	3½ x 9 m. . . . .	? { 1-40 m. (floor, hollow in
74. Ostrian Cemetery . . . . .	3rd cent.	? . . . . .	small . . . . .	not deep.
76. Cemetery of Pontianus . . . . .	6th cent.	oblong . . . . .	2 x 1 m. . . . .	1 m.
81. Catacomb at Naples . . . . .	4th cent.	circular . . . . .	6 ft. . . . .	3 ft.
77. Catacomb of Alexandria . . . . .	3rd cent.	circular . . . . .	1-1½ m. . . . .	?
<i>Egypt.</i>				
61. Dair Mâri Mina . . . . .	4th cent.	circular . . . . .	small . . . . .	?
62. Dair Abu' 's Sifain . . . . .	10th cent.	circular . . . . .	3 ft. . . . .	4 ft.
62 a. " " . . . . .	10th cent.	circular . . . . .	3 ft. . . . .	3 ft.
63. Abu Sargah . . . . .	6th cent.	circular . . . . .	2 ft. . . . .	?
" " . . . . .	2nd or 3rd c.	circular . . . . .	30 in. . . . .	?
64. Dair al Abiad . . . . .	3rd or 4th c.	circular . . . . .	4 ft. . . . .	?
65. Al' Adra . . . . .	very old	circular . . . . .	under 3 ft. . . . .	?
<i>Syria and the East.</i>				
66. Tyre . . . . .	314	oblong . . . . .	6 ft. . . . .	2½ ft.
67. Amwas . . . . .	4th cent.	cruciform with rounded ends	3-5 m. . . . .	1-35 m. (water 70 m.)
68. Beit 'Aûwa . . . . .	? 4th c.	square . . . . .	2 ft. 3 in. . . . .	20 in. (28 in. outside).
68 a. Khûrbet Tekûta . . . . .	? 4th c.	octagonal . . . . .	4 ft. . . . .	4 ft. (outside).
69. Deir Seta . . . . .	5-6th c.	hexagonal with ciborium	8-10 ft. . . . .	?
70. Aladschadagh . . . . .	6th cent.	square . . . . .	.86 m. . . . .	.82 m.
71. Gül Bagtische . . . . .	7th cent.	square . . . . .	1½ m. . . . .	1 m.
72. S. Sophia . . . . .	?	oval quatrefoil 1½ in.	3 ft. 2½ in. x 6 ft. 1½ in.	4 ft. 6 in.
73. Salona . . . . .	4-6th c.	square with cibo- rium	1 m. . . . .	.80 m.
<i>Rome and early Italian.</i>				
78. Lateran baptistery . . . . .	324-337	octagonal . . . . .	62 ft. . . . .	3 ft.
79. S. Stefano on the Via Latina . . . . .	5th cent.	circular . . . . .	6 ft. . . . .	3 ft.
80. S. Restituta, Naples . . . . .	4th cent.	circular . . . . .	6 ft. . . . .	3 ft.
82. Nocera dei Pagani . . . . .	5th cent.	circular . . . . .	18 ft. . . . .	2-3 ft.
<i>Africa.</i>				
83. Carthage . . . . .	4-5th c.	octagonal . . . . .	2.83 m. . . . .	1.15-95 m.
84. Damous el Karita . . . . .	4-5th c.	hexagonal . . . . .	3 m. . . . .	.80-90 m.
85. Hammam el Lif . . . . .	?	circular . . . . .	1.25 m. . . . .	1.25 m.
86. Tebessa . . . . .	before 439	circ. with ciborium	2 m. . . . .	.80 in.
87. Tizirt . . . . .	6th cent.	circular . . . . .	1.80 m. . . . .	.80 in.
88. Tipasa . . . . .	4th cent.	circular . . . . .	3.40 m. . . . .	1 m.
89. El Kantara . . . . .	?	cruciform . . . . .	? . . . . .	.60.
<i>Late Italian and other fonts.</i>				
90. Ravenna . . . . .	449-452	octagonal . . . . .	3.40 m. . . . .	1.25 m.
91. Parenzo . . . . .	6th cent.	hexagonal . . . . .	3 m. . . . .	?
92. Cividale . . . . .	716-762	octagonal with ciborium	3 m. . . . .	?
93. Poitiers . . . . .	4th cent.	octagonal . . . . .	? . . . . .	.21 m.
94. Aquileia . . . . .	8th cent.	hexagonal with ciborium	. . . . .	1 m.
95. Schacheneck . . . . .	9-10th c.	circular . . . . .	.92 m. . . . .	.80 m.

*Two types of Fonts.*

It will be noticed that these fonts may be divided into two types. In the East they are generally small square or circular basins (Exx. 61-65, 68 a, 70), while sometimes they are elongated on four sides and so made the shape of a Greek cross (Exx. 66-68, 71, 73). In the West they are usually octagonal or circular, greater in diameter but not deeper, while the two steps generally run round the whole circumference, the whole forming a wide shallow basin (Exx. 78, 86, 91, &c. &c.).

There is often a parapet as well and a pulpit for the bishop (Exx. 78-81, 90, &c.), while frequently we find pillars to support a ciborium over the basin (Exx. 69, 78, 82, 86, 92, 94).

Both types seem to have developed from the small baths in domestic use in which baptism was administered in pre-Constantinian times; but in the East they seemed to have retained the features of the private bath, while in the West and in the Roman Hauran in Syria they exhibit a strongly marked uniformity of pattern that seems derived from the public *Thermae*.

This conjecture is borne out by the numerous traditions which tell of baths being converted into baptisteries, while a glance at the still remaining *frigidarium* in the Stabian baths at Pompeii is sufficient to show after what pattern the western type was modelled. The shape is just that of the circular baptistery with its four small apses, while the basin itself of white marble is of similar proportions to many of the fonts we have considered. It is 13 ft. 8 in. in diameter, and about 3 ft. 9 in. deep. It is entered by two marble steps, and has a seat running round it at a height of 10 in. from the bottom. It was clearly therefore never more than half full, as no one would sit on a seat more than a few inches under the water<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cyprian, Ep. 76, referred to above, p. 312.—*Concise Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, Murray, London, 1898, art. 'Baths,' p. 106.

### *Depth of Fonts.*

The depth can be ascertained with certainty in the cases where the original drain-holes remain, and can usually be calculated approximately from the steps leading down to the water, which are almost invariably two in number.

The normal depth is under 3 ft., so that unless the font were filled to the brim, the average depth of water would have been about 2 ft.; in some cases 15 in. represents the utmost capacity of the basin (Amwas, Beit 'Aûwa). In many cases, where the font has disappeared, we are justified in assuming a similar measurement, as its proportion to the size of the baptistery does not vary much in the West.

### *Steps.*

Much misunderstanding has arisen from the supposition that it was usual to descend into the water by seven steps. The number found is almost invariably two, and where three are spoken of it will generally be found that the rim of the font has been counted as the third, and that the font is constructed with three concentric rings.

The seven steps therefore referred to in literature are made up by counting the paces of the catechumen, the first being when he puts his foot on the edge to step in, the next two as he descends the two inner rings of the font, the fourth as he stands on the floor of the basin, and the remaining three as he goes up out of the water.

Cf. Isidore of Seville (633), *de Divin. Offic.* II. ch. 25 'Fons autem omnium gratiarum origo est, cuius septem gradus sunt; tres in descensu propter tria quibus renuntiamus, tres in ascensu propter tria quae confitemur, septimus vero is est, qui et quartus similis Filio hominis extinguens fornacem ignis, stabilimentum pedum fundamentum aquae in quo omnis plenitudo divinitatis habitabat corporaliter.' This passage seems to have been misunderstood by R. von Eitelberger in the quotation given above in his description of the font at Cividale.

It might seem at first sight as if a depth of 2 or 3 ft. were sufficient to allow the whole body to be covered, but a little consideration will show that it would be impossible in a font only 3 ft. across. Even in the wider type of basin that was common in the West it would be extremely awkward and practically impossible, as any one will realize who has ever tried to dip himself in the shallow end of an ordinary swimming bath. The only example of those we have considered in which such a proceeding would have been possible is perhaps that of the Lateran, where the rite was administered by the Popes. When baptism is administered by total immersion in modern times, it is found necessary to have a tank in which the candidate can stand with the water up to his neck or breast; or if the water is shallower the font must be at least 8 ft. long, and the administrator has to enter the water and lay the candidate on his back. In the early Church, as we have seen, the bishop made use of a desk which raised him well out of reach of the surface of the water.

### *Curtains.*

The pillars in the Lateran baptistery are supposed to have been hung with curtains. From early times the Church had objected to men and women bathing together (*Const. Apost.* 1, 9; *Cypr. de hab. virg.* 19), and the presence of deaconesses would seem to imply that in the preparation for baptism the sexes were kept apart, even if the rite was administered to both at the same time (*Can. Hipp.* § 114; *Const. Apost.* 3, 15).

Augustine (*de Civ. Dei* xxii. 8) mentions a miracle which came to his knowledge as having taken place in the women's quarter of the baptistery at Carthage (*in parte feminarum observanti ad baptisterium*), which may refer to a separate font or simply to a robing-room, such as are frequently found adjoining the ancient baptisteries. There are said to have been two separate buildings at Autun.

At the same time no special precautions seem to have been taken to screen the candidates, who were made to take off

everything, even jewelry and false hair (*Can. Hipp.* § 115). Chrysostom speaks of catechumens as being 'as naked as Adam in Paradise' (*Hom. 6 in Coloss.*). Ambrose (*Serm.* 20) points out how absurd it is for a man who was born naked, and entered naked into the Church, to hope to carry his riches into heaven. Cyril (*Cat. Myst.* 2) reminds the newly baptized how they were naked in the sight of men and were not ashamed. Athanasius accused Arius of inciting Jews and heathens to break into the baptistery at Alexandria and insult the catechumens; while Peter of Apamea was accused of doing the same thing at Constantinople, and so frightening the women there assembled that they fled naked into the streets (*Chryst. Epist. 1 ad Innocent.*<sup>1</sup>).

In the western Church, however, the ring of pillars carrying a ciborium is a very common feature (as at Salona, Tebessa, Cividale, and Aquileia), and these were probably used in later times to secure the privacy that was not thought necessary in earlier ages. The curtain mentioned in the description of the church in the 'Testament of our Lord' seems to have hung before the door and not round the font ('*Similiter domus baptismi sit velo obtecta,*' p. 325).

It is related of Otto of Bamberg that on converting the Pomeranians (1124), he had three baptisteries constructed, one for boys, one for women and one for men. He had three large basins sunk in the ground so that they reached as high as a man's knee, and round them he had curtains hung on cords tied to a circle of supports. The catechumens went inside with their godparents, and there gave up their clothes to them, and the priest standing outside the curtains, when he heard the candidate enter the water, drew aside the curtain enough to allow him to pour water thrice over his head. We have here an interesting survival of the ancient custom at a time when infant baptism must have been the rule, and when fonts were of the type with which we are familiar to-day, being usually raised on pedestals to facilitate the dipping which, we saw,

<sup>1</sup> Bingham, bk. xi. ch. 11 sections 1-3.

had by this time come to be considered the more perfect way<sup>1</sup>.

Cortinas circa dolia, fixis columnellis funibusque inductis, oppandi fecit, ut in modum coronae velo undique cuppa cingeretur, ante sacerdotem vero et comministros, qui ex una parte astantes Sacramenti opus explere habebant, linteum fune traiectionem pendit. . . Sacerdos vero qui ad cuppam stabat, cum audisset potius quam vidisset quod aliquis esset in aqua, velo paululum remoto, trina immersione capitis illius mysterium Sacramenti perfecit.

### *Persistency of type.*

The Western type of font that was established by the fourth century lasts with singular persistency late into the Middle Ages; just as the traditional method of picturing the baptism of our Lord underwent comparatively little modification in the course of centuries. Fonts of the early Christian form are found at Torcello (ninth to eleventh centuries), Florence (eleventh to twelfth), Cremona (twelfth), Pisa (1153), Parma (1196), while baptisteries from which the original basins have disappeared are numerous. This conservatism in later ages would seem to argue against any sudden change having been made at the time of the peace of the Church.

Again, our examples have been taken from the catacombs of Rome and Alexandria, from Palestine, Tyre, Egypt, the Hauran, Asia Minor, Persia, Byzantium, Dalmatia, Rome of the fourth century, Naples, Africa, Lusitania, the Lombard and Merovingian kingdoms, and the Frankish Empire. In none of these cases would submersion be easy or natural; in most cases it would be impossible. Such a remarkable unanimity, in spite of differences in details, points back to a much earlier original type of basin which certainly would not have been large; and if we are right in holding that the private bath in domestic use was the model which first suggested the form and shape of the later structures, we may

<sup>1</sup> *Acta Bolland.*, July 28, p. 395.

confidently assert that baptism by submersion would have been as difficult to carry out in them as it would have been in the catacombs.

*Sources of the popular error.*

Besides the misunderstanding as to the way in which the seven steps were reckoned, to which allusion has been made above, three other sources of popular error may be mentioned.

It might be argued that the custom of consecrating the water excludes the method of administration by bringing the head of the catechumen under a stream descending from a spout, which we saw reason to believe was sometimes adopted. But it must be remembered that the idea that any change in the water itself was brought about by benediction is of comparatively late origin. It was rather the consecration of the ELEMENT of water that was considered to have been effected by the baptism of Christ in the running stream of Jordan<sup>1</sup>.

The analogy between baptism and death, dwelt on by S. Paul in the epistle to the Romans (vi. 4), has often been quoted as involving submersion, and numerous passages in the Fathers have seemed to support the belief that the catechumen must necessarily have been entirely covered by the water. Thus Cyril of Jerusalem, when he compares the threefold immersion with the three days and nights of our Lord's entombment, and reminds his hearers that in their baptism they saw nothing 'as if it were night,' uses language which seems to imply total immersion.

*Cat. Myst.* xx. 4 οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἀναδύσει τὴν πρώτην ἐμμεῖσθε τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν τῇ γῇ ἡμέραν καὶ τῇ καταδύσει τὴν νύκτα. Ὡς περ γὰρ ὁ ἐν νυκτὶ οὐκέτι βλέπει, ὁ δὲ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐν φωτὶ διαίγει, οὕτως ἐν τῇ καταδύσει, ὡς ἐν νυκτὶ, οὐδὲν ἑωρᾶτε, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀναδύσει πάλιν, ὡς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐτυγχάνετε ὄντες.

This is of course involved in our modern customs of burial, where earth is piled on the coffin; but it may be questioned

<sup>1</sup> Stone, D., *Holy Baptism*, ch. I, note 13, p. 221.



whether such an idea was present either to the mind of the Apostle, who was thinking of the burial of our Lord where the body was simply laid in the tomb, or to the writers of the early Church, whose customs of burial involved no more than laying the corpse in a sarcophagus or carrying it down to the catacombs. It is in the structure of the font rather than in the water that they find their analogy, in the act of going down rather than in what they found when they descended.

*Cat. Myst.* iii. 12 τρόπον τινα ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι ταφείς, ὥσπερ ἐκείνος ἐν τῇ πέτρᾳ—and xx. 4, where the catechumens are reminded how they were led to the κολυμβήθρα ὡς ὁ Χριστὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ ἐπὶ τὸ προκείμενον μῆμα. Cf. Bingham, bk. xi. ch. 11, sections 4-7.

Even where the custom of earth-burial obtained, to cast a handful over the corpse was considered sufficient to constitute an interment. It was in this way that Antigone disobeyed the command of Creon that her brother's body was to remain without the honour of burial:—

τὸν νεκρὸν τις ἀρτίως  
θάψας βίβηκε καπὶ χρωτὶ διψίαν  
κόων παλύνας κἀφαμιστεύσας δ' ἀχρή<sup>1</sup>.

See the passages quoted by R. C. Jebb in his edition of Sophocles (Cambridge 1883), describing the guilt incurred by any one who passed by an unburied corpse without throwing earth on it.

The words used to describe the administration of the sacrament (βαπτίζω, λουτρόν, καταδύω, *mergo, immersio, tingo*) are usually assumed to imply submersion. Even if this were involved in their original meaning, the same expressions might well be used if the rite were carried out in the way described above. Similarly the colloquial English word 'to duck' means strictly to dive, or push under the water, but in common use it is applied to any serious wetting,

<sup>1</sup> *Soph. Ant.* 245; cf. *Hor. Carm.* i. 28. 23-25:—

At tu, nauta, vagae ne parces malignus arenae  
Omnibus et capiti inhumato  
Particulam dare.

and even to a simple lowering of the head, where there is no question of water at all.

As a matter of fact, we have seen that whatever may have been the theories of ecclesiastical writers on the subject, the evidence from archaeology shows that they had little or no influence on popular practice for at least 700 years, and it is only when in the West Latin ceased to be the language in which people habitually thought, and when in the East the growing rarity of adult baptism made the Greek word patient of an interpretation that suited that of infants only, that the more literal meaning of the term began to be enforced.

Cf. Duchesne, *Églises Séparées*, Paris, 1896, p. 95. En somme, il y a ici une erreur d'interprétation. L'immersion dont parlent les anciens textes n'est pas autre chose que l'affusion actuelle, pratiquée sans doute avec plus d'abondance, mais sans différence essentielle. Et cette manière de voir trouve une confirmation dans l'emploi des mots *tinctio*, *tingere*, pour désigner le baptême. Ce synonyme est dans la langue ecclésiastique latine depuis le temps de Tertullien. Or, que signifie *tingere*? Tout simplement mouiller et non pas immerger.

It would be an ungracious task to trace how persistently the greater number of archaeologists have repeated the statement that baptism by immersion (i. e. submersion) was the universal custom in primitive times, and to point out how consequently they have been misled in judgement; but we may hope that the study here undertaken may at least have done something to remove this cause of confusion, and settled one small point among the many questions that make the study of Christian antiquities one of such great difficulty.

## NOTE

THE list of fonts in Italy (pp. 336-340, 345-348) might easily have been extended. A list of 59 baptisteries, dating from the 4th to the 11th centuries, is given in Lopez, *Il battistero di Parma*, 1864, pp. 249 ff. Some dozen of these are mentioned as still possessing their original fonts, which are described as entered by two or three steps and hexagonal (Pesaro, 4th cent., Trieste, 6th cent., Pola in Istria, 9th cent.), octagonal (Barzano, Galliano, 6th-7th cent.), square (Murano, Torcello, 11th cent.), or 'like the ancient baths' (Cittanova); but no exact measurements are given, except in the case of an early Lombard basin at Castrocaro near Forlì, which is rectangular, 1.40 m. by 60 m. and 53 m. deep. In R. Cattaneo, *Architettura in Italia*, a small 7th or 8th century font in the museum at Venice is described and pictured (p. 101, fig. 44), and the remains of an earlier one at Torcello are mentioned in Venturi, *Storia dell' arte italiana*, vol. ii, Milan, 1902, p. 158.

It would have been easy also to multiply examples of representations of the rite from the 8th-10th centuries. A Carolingian ivory in the Museo Nazionale at Florence represents the baptism of Cornelius (H. Graeven, *Frühchristliche u. mittelalt. Elfenbeinwerke*, 1900, n. 29). The chapel of the Virgin erected at the Vatican by John VII in 706 has been destroyed, but sketches of the mosaics have been preserved, among which occurs a scene of the baptism of Christ (Garr. 279, 1, and 280, 4); and in the copy of the homilies of S. Gregory Nazianzen in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (MS. Grec. 510, fol. 426), which was written for Basil the Macedonian in 886, is a page containing twelve small pictures of the Apostles, each baptizing a catechumen, who stands immersed up to the breast in a round, square, or cruciform font.

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